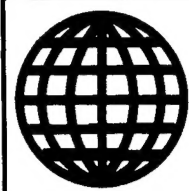


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Near East & South Asia

PAKISTAN

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

U.S. Role In Indian Subcontinent Examined

92AS0568B Lahore MUSAWAT in Urdu 8 Jan 92 p 3

[Editorial: "U.S. Role in the Subcontinent"]

[Text] Mrs. Benazir Bhutto, former prime minister, opposition leader, and co-chairperson of the PPP [Pakistan People's Party], said that if the United States of America develops closer ties to India, it is nothing to worry about. She said that if Pakistan's interests were affected, however, then there would be cause for concern. Mrs. Bhutto said that the situation does not indicate whether the United States can play an effective role in resolving the Pakistani-Indian conflict. It is friendly with both parties, and the history of U.S.-Pakistan relations is a long one. Both countries signed several defense and economic pacts such as SEATO [Southeast Asia Treaty Organization] and CENTO [Central Treaty Organization]. There was a total strike in Kashmir on the right-to-independence day. The series of gun sounds continued, however, and more than 20 people were killed as a result of firing from Indian soldiers. Several government cars were blown up with bombs. The water supply system was suspended for Muslims. But the freedom campaign in Kashmir cannot be crushed, and the accusation against Pakistan about interference is totally incorrect. More than 1,050,000 Kashmiri refugees have taken refuge in Pakistan during the last three years because of the atrocities of Indian soldiers. Violence and oppression have reached extremes in the occupied state. Human rights are being totally ignored. India is not willing to discuss a resolution of the Kashmir problem, and this is causing danger to all of South Asia. India should not delay in starting talks with Pakistan, and this problem can be solved if India follows international rules. It is not beneficial to India to ignore the importance of Kashmir and deny its existence. The balance of power is changing in the world. Now India does not have the benefit of Moscow's unconditional help and good will. The prevalence of independent republics in what was the Soviet Union calls for the resolution of the Kashmir issue according to UN guidelines. This is very important for stability and peace in the subcontinent. The United Nations has passed resolutions on the Kashmir issue. According to these, the people of Kashmir were promised independence. They also asked for a free and unbiased referendum in the state. The United States gave a lot of importance to UN resolutions over the expulsion of foreign armed forces from Kuwait. It did not even hesitate from jeopardizing world peace over it, and it finally succeeded in its purpose. Among the resolutions passed over Kashmir in the United Nations, one is regarding a free and unbiased election. Most of the delegates from the United States and Great Britain openly condemn the atrocities being committed by the Indian Government. The Indian Government should learn from what happened to the Soviet Union. The United States should convince India to start talks and negotiations to solve the Kashmir problem, because India and the United States have started major

economic and defense collaborations. As opposition leader Mrs. Benazir Bhutto said, it does not matter if India and the United States come closer to each other. The important aspect of this development is that the United States plays an important role in the subcontinent and helps to implement the UN resolution to end the basic conflict between India and Pakistan. After the political changes in the Soviet Union, the United States has the responsibility of establishing peace there. It is also responsible for helping the Kashmiris get their independence. This will aid in the establishment of stability and peace in the subcontinent. Both countries will be able to serve their people by making economic and social progress. Both are developing countries. Millions of people still lack basic amenities in India and Pakistan. Violation of human rights is a daily occurrence. If an agreement is reached, then India and Pakistan can spend billions of rupees on developmental projects. Even after 45 years of independence, the people of the subcontinent are deprived of some basic freedoms, because both governments spend the majority of their budgets for defense and preparation for wars. That is the reason for the low spending in the areas of health and education. Both countries are still developing while Japan, which was destroyed during World War II, is an industrialized nation now. The United States can play an important role in establishing understanding and peace in the subcontinent. This will also help improve its stature and its status as a nonaligned superpower. The United States will be able to establish a new world order in a real sense. In that world order, the people will have justice and basic rights. Welfare and humane work will be increased. The people of the subcontinent will be able to establish friendly and neighborly relations and rid themselves of all instigatory acts and bomb blasts. The people of both countries will benefit in the areas of development, education, health, trade, and agriculture. The United States can play an important role in resolving the India-Pakistan conflict. It is expected that the American role will not only be effective, but also be of a developmental nature. This will help to eradicate poverty, ignorance, and sickness in both countries.

American Politicians Said To View Country as 'Colony'

92AS0568C Karachi AMN in Urdu 15 Jan 92 p 2

[Column by Jumma Khan: "U.S. Politicians Should Stop Considering Pakistan as Their Colony"]

[Text] U.S. Senator Larry Pressler arrived in Pakistan after visiting India and said that various statements attributed to him in India were grossly exaggerated. He said that he had never said that Pakistan was interfering in Kashmir and East Punjab.

Mr. Pressler also said in India that Pakistan, Iran, Afghanistan, and Central Asian Muslim republics were trying to form a confederation that could pose a danger to India, and that he had come to India to warn it.

Mr. Pressler is famous, or perhaps infamous, because he helped stop economic and military aid to Pakistan on the pretext of Pakistan's nuclear program. He said that India has promised not to make atomic bombs, and that he trusts India. He does not believe Pakistan's promise, however, even though India has already blasted a nuclear bomb and Pakistan has not. The whole world knows that India kept its nuclear program secret and refused to sign the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty [NPT]. Meanwhile, Pakistan has offered to sign the treaty if India agrees to do so. The most important aspect of this whole affair is that India does not give any importance to Pakistan's willingness to sign the NPT. India has openly said that if Pakistan signs the treaty, it still will not sign it. In spite of India's clear stand on this issue, the U.S. senator and other pro-India U.S. politicians have cooperated to stop economic aid to Pakistan by suspiciously looking at its peaceful nuclear program.

What Mr. Pressler said or did not say in India is his own affair. All that we Pakistanis want is for the United States to stop viewing Pakistan as its colony. We are the kind of people who love our friends and do not hesitate to make a sacrifice for them. But with the United States of America or any other nation, we are not willing to allow them to be our owner. As an independent and free country, our people will not tolerate being given orders by another country. They do not want another country to view our elected and democratic government with mistrust. If the United States believes that Pakistan's government is a phony and that it is trying to deceive it, then our people will be forced to consider the United States of America a renegade country. We know that if Iraq's occupation of Kuwait could be ended in a few weeks, then India's occupation of Kashmir can also be ended. The United States, however, does not cooperate with us. We also know that in 1965, during the India-Pakistan war, the United States of America ended military aid to us, in spite of various military agreements. We also know that when Soviet armed forces reached Kabul, the United States of America called Pakistan, which it considered a "donkey," its "daddy." It did so in order to push the Soviets out.

U.S. relationships with various big and small countries have seen a lot of ups and downs. Based on this, we can clearly see that the United States can become a friend to various countries; however, its friendship has always been selfish in nature. The United States has everything, but it does not have sincerity and faithfulness. It stays with you as long as it has selfish reasons. Once its purpose is realized, it turns its face away. Perhaps this is why Western politics is considered to be full of deception.

The U.S. senator says that Pakistan, Iran, Afghanistan, and Muslim republics in Central Asia can pose a danger to India and can form a confederation; however, Mr. Pressler should first explain something. If this so-called confederation can be dangerous to India, then why did Pakistan's participation in various pacts such as SEATO

[Southeast Asia Treaty Organization] and CENTO [Central Treaty Organization] not threaten India?

If Mr. Pressler is trying to scare India with an imaginary confederation, then this rumor was started purely for political reasons. India was told that a major confederation of Islamic nations can be formed, which would be very dangerous to it. Therefore, it should not sign the NPT and continue working secretly to make more nuclear bombs. This way, if the Islamic countries formed a confederation and became a danger to it, then it would be able to successfully counter this danger.

Mr. Pressler forgot that none of the countries included in the confederation, with which he is trying to scare India, want war with India. Pakistan has already said repeatedly that if India agrees to a reasonable pact over Kashmir, then both countries can establish an exemplary friendship. In addition, Afghanistan, Iran, and Central Asian Muslim republics have nothing against India. They have no disagreement with India. Therefore, if these countries succeed in forming a confederation, then they will have no interest in endangering India. Thus, this confederation could be formed for economic progress; its existence would never be for military purposes.

This century is coming to an end, and along with it, all kinds of military pacts are also dying. The Warsaw Pact ended with the Soviet Union. NATO is no longer necessary, and pacts like SEATO and CENTO have already become ineffective. Therefore, no confederation can be formed on the basis of military purpose now.

Many small nations have become independent during this century, and the era of slavery has ended. When the new century begins, no nation will be the slave of another. A new kind of show has started, however; they are talking about a confederation on one side, and a commonwealth of independent states has already been established. This is not a social club like the British Commonwealth. Thus, what concerns us is whether or not there will be major empires built during the next century along with the birth of small independent nations.

If this trend continues after the independence movement, then many large empires will be formed, and the purpose for which independence was gained will not be attained. Total independence or freedom cannot be attained under a confederation or commonwealth system. People want to run their countries according to their wishes, and we do not see bright future for any confederation or commonwealth.

Possible Destruction of Nuclear Facilities by U.S. Feared

92AS0570D Karachi JANG in Urdu 16 Jan 92 p 3

[Editorial: "U.S. Attitude Towards Our Right to Defense"]

[Text] President Ghulam Ishaq Khan again declared during his speech to the Pakistan Navy last Tuesday in

Karachi that no compromises would be made where the nation's defense was concerned. The president also talked about the fact that Pakistan has no aggressive designs against any country. "All we want is a strong defense and are trying to attain a practical defense capability," he said. The steps and plans for national defense mentioned by the president are the kind that no peace-loving nation or sane political leader can complain about. The problem, however, is that some powers, especially the United States of America and India, are determined to make Pakistan a victim of unnecessary criticism for any reason. Recently, U.S. Senator Mr. Pressler very strongly criticized Pakistan's defense policy, both in New Delhi and in Islamabad. Neither Pakistan nor any other country can tolerate such criticism. What is worse is the U.S. Government spokesman's onerous statement recently that Pressler's opinion has nothing to do with the U.S. Government. Even if we grant it then what does the U.S. Government think about the statement issued by Mr. Dick Cheney, its secretary of defense? In this statement, he made it clear that the West considers Islam to be its greatest danger. In addition, the United States believes that Pakistan has a nuclear bomb. According to a report issued from Washington, the Bush administration has admitted that Pakistan has two nuclear bombs, and has demanded that these be destroyed. After such biased and extremely provoking government commentaries, there is no doubt that the U.S. Government is fully involved in this anti-Pakistan propaganda campaign. The statements made by people like Pressler and Solarz should be recognized as part of U.S. Government policy. They should also be called part of the plan of the so-called new world order. We just do not understand how the United States of America or any other superpower can establish any kind of new world order by taking such prejudiced steps and adopting unjust attitudes. Will not such statements such as declaring the whole Islamic world as a danger to the West cause concern in Islamic countries about their security? Will not they encourage such anti-Islamic countries such as India and Israel? Present developments indicate that the United States wants to create uncertainty and insecurity at an international level in order to help sell its own and its allies' old weapons. It should remember that it does not matter whether the weapons are old or new. They are not made only to be kept in warehouses. They will always be used somewhere, and the turmoil and destruction that result from the use of these weapons will also affect the economies of the countries that sell these weapons. Islamic countries will be especially affected by such selfish U.S. policies. Therefore, we sincerely advise American policymakers to develop sincerity and honesty in their policies, and not try to pressure honest and truthful countries like Pakistan with negative propaganda. They should show some moral principles and realize the fact that Pakistan, just like other independent countries in the world, has the right to make arrangements for its existence and safety, and that there will be no good result from any efforts to deprive it of this right.

U.S. Criticized for Storage Fees on Undelivered F-16s

92AS0572B Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 22 Jan 92 p 4

[Editorial: "A New Direction in U.S.-Pakistan Relations"]

[Text] A U.S. Embassy employee in Islamabad told journalists that the visit to the United States of Pakistan's chief of army staff, General Asif Nawaz, was very successful; nevertheless, Pakistan would not receive any F-16 planes unless President Bush issued a written certificate regarding Pakistan as required by the Pressler Amendment, but that Pakistan would receive spare parts for F-16s and other weapons. The American Embassy employee's description of General Asif's visit to the United States as being successful is welcome news, although he did not specify the results of the visit. Nevertheless, U.S. readiness to supply spare parts for weapons is a positive step. But in spite of payment being made for the F-16 planes, U.S. refusal to deliver them and its insistence on charging storage fees is the sort of bad business faith that does not bode well for the future nor is it an act that a superpower like the United States should be proud of; but in view of the fact that the United States has always followed a two-faced policy in regard to other countries, especially Islamic countries, this recent action is not difficult to understand.

If the United States realizes its international responsibilities and the claims of Pakistan's friendship and, through discussions, agrees to end its discriminatory policies, then well and good. But if it does not, then Pakistan should seek alternative sources. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's recent visit to France may be regarded as a link in this chain. But it is not enough to rely on France or the United States; we should promote defense industries within Pakistan and make use of our own resources. We should also make overtures to other friendly countries in order to foil India's evil intentions. The U.S. Government should not be duped by the statements of Senator Pressler and Stephen Solarz who are working for the Jewish and Indian lobbies. The U.S. Government should not allow itself to be scared by their propaganda into acts of bad faith against Pakistan. As Robert Gates, the director of the CIA, has pointed out, the nuclear programs of both countries [India and Pakistan] should be dealt with on the same level. Recently, Indian Foreign Minister Solanki again refused to sign the nonproliferation treaty; but the United States continues to pressure Pakistan alone, which is intolerable.

Article Says U.S. Aid Policy Hypocritical

92AS0585A Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST in English 28 Jan 92 pp 10-11

[Article by Syed Adeeb: "Gen. Asif's Mission to America"; italicized words as published]

[Text] During his seven-day official visit to the United States, which ended on 10 January, Chief of the Army

Staff General Asif Nawaz Janjua was able to make some progress towards better U.S.-Pakistan military relations, but he failed to convince the Americans that Pakistan is not developing nuclear weapons.

General Asif Nawaz came here at the invitation of General Joseph Hoar, U.S. commander-in-chief Central Command who toured Pakistan recently. He met senior Bush administration and U.S. military officials, including Defence Secretary Richard Cheney, Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff General Colin Powell, U.S. Army Chief of Staff General Gordon Sullivan, Secretary of the Army Michael Stone, Undersecretary of State for International Security Affairs Reginald Bartholomew and Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs Arnold Kanter.

General Nawaz visited the National Security Council in Washington and attended a military briefing at Fort Stewart, Georgia, where Major General Barry McCaffrey, commanding General, 24th Infantry Division, was his host. Later at McDill AFB, Florida, the headquarters (Centcom) for U.S. military forces in the Middle East and South Asia, he met his host General Hoar, who arranged a dinner for Nawaz. Pakistan army chief also attended further military briefings at Lampa, Florida.

During his meetings with the U.S. officials, General Nawaz discussed professional military matters and those relating to security environment in the South-Asian region. The discussions covered a wide range of issues, including Pakistan defence policy, Afghan war, Kashmir war, Indian Punjab war, Sindh war, Middle East or Persian Gulf security, transfer of nuclear technology/materials, Islamabad's nuclear programme, NPT [Non-proliferation Treaty], U.S. economic and military aid to Pakistan, Pak-U.S. ties, Indo-Pak relations, Pak-China friendship, Pak-Iran relationship, Pakistan military's role in domestic politics, Islamisation, and economic/foreign policies, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's social, economic and political reforms, and the role of President Ghulam Ishaq Khan in Pakistani politics.

General Nawaz tried to convince the U.S. officials that Pakistan's nuclear programme is for peaceful energy purposes only and that Pakistan is not building a military alliance with Iran and China, but he failed to do so. At the time of General Nawaz's visit, the free American press highlighted Pakistan's nuclear activities: the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR TV News Channel reported that Pakistan and Iran have negotiated a joint agreement to build nuclear weapons. THE MONITOR stated that Pakistan would provide nuclear weapons technology and Iran would invest five billion dollars in the new Pak-Iran nuclear weapons programme. THE WASHINGTON POST reported: "China announced that it will export a 300-megawatt nuclear power plant to Pakistan, whose nuclear programme has become a source of controversy because of Islamabad's attempts to construct atomic weapons. Associated Press of America pointed out: "India and some Western nations contend Pakistan is close to being able to produce nuclear arms."

Earlier, Abida Hussain, Pakistan Ambassador to United States, hosted a reception for General Nawaz. General Hoar, General Sullivan, several officials of the Pentagon, prominent members of the Pakistani community and few Washington-based journalists representing Pakistani newspapers participated in the reception. The same evening Ambassador Abida Hussain also gave a dinner in honour of General Nawaz which was attended by U.S. Senator Larry Pressler, the author of the infamous and discriminatory Pressler Amendment, former National Security Adviser Robert McFarlane, former CIA director Richard Helms, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Shireen Tahirkheli, Mrs Oakley, and Katharine Graham, Chairman of the Board of the WASHINGTON POST Company.

Even though Katharine Graham of THE WASHINGTON POST attended the Pakistan Washington Embassy's dinner, but still Pakistan ambassador's public relations efforts did not influence the WASHINGTON POST at all. On 8 January 1992 THE WASHINGTON POST published a letter "Degrees of separation" written by an ordinary Pakistani, which stated:

"Hussain Haqqani, press assistant to Pakistan's Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, claimed in his 27 December letter that the judiciary in Pakistan is independent."

"Since the creation of Pakistan in 1947, however, its judiciary has been controlled and directed by the executive branch of the federal government or by various rulers. The judiciary can only be independent when separated from the executive and when judges are free to ensure justice for all."

"The president of Pakistan does not appoint the judges of lower courts, high courts and Supreme Court for life; instead, he appoints them on an ad hoc basis or for a period of time that he himself determines. Further, the president can dismiss any judge at any time."

"For example, Justice Jameel Qazi, a judge of the Peshawar High Court, was removed from office by President Ghulam Ishaq Khan immediately after he ordered the restoration of the North-West Frontier Provincial Assembly, which President Ishaq had dissolved in August 1990."

Around the time of General Asif Nawaz's visit to the U.S., an official congressional report "Pakistan and Nuclear Weapons," prepared by Warren Donnelly and Zachary Davis, who are associated with the congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress, was circulated among concerned authorities, institutions and persons. On Pakistan's nuclear weapons status, the report states:

"Independent analysts see Pakistan as continuing to inch towards nuclear weapons, and some now claim that Pakistan has several of them. In 1988 Leonard Spector of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace concluded that: "Between late 1986 and mid-1988, convincing evidence emerged that Pakistan had crossed the

nuclear weapons threshold and had acquired the essentials for its first nuclear weapons" (The Undeclared Bomb, 1988). More recently he estimated that Pakistan probably could deploy five to 10 atom bombs for delivery by aircraft (Nuclear Ambitions, 1990). Similarly, Hedrick Smith estimated in 1988 that Pakistan had accumulated some 100 kilograms of weapons-grade uranium and had fabricated most of the parts for nuclear weapons although, technically speaking, it did not yet 'possess' them (THE NEW YORK TIMES magazine, 6 March 1988). In 1989, analysts of the Federation of American Scientists estimated Pakistan had enough weapons-grade uranium to build eight to 16 nuclear bombs by 1990. Similarly, the Aspen Strategy Group estimated in 1990 that Pakistan probably had the essentials for five to 10 nuclear explosive devices."

The independent American media did not specifically cover General Nawaz's activities in America. However, the questions of improving U.S.-Pakistan relations, finding a political solution to the 13-year-old Afghan conflict, resolving the Indo-Pak Kashmir dispute, and arranging a five-nation—Pakistan, India, China, Russia, U.S.—nuclear conference aimed at declaring South Asia a nuclear-weapons-free-zone were raised by the American press and by certain other public forums during his visit.

Ambassador Abida Hussain urged the Bush administration to assist Pakistan in convening the nuclear conference as soon as possible. However, of immediate concern to General Nawaz was the spare parts for the U.S.-supplied F-16s, helicopters and other military machines/weapons. About 240 million annual U.S. economic aid-military assistance, including the supply of spare parts to Pakistan was cut off in October 1990 as required by the Pressler Amendment. President George Bush failed to certify to the U.S. Congress that Pakistan does not possess a nuclear explosive device. Without the Pressler certification, military and economic aid to Pakistan will remain suspended indefinitely.

Nevertheless, General Asif Nawaz, who recently met with ex-Afghan King Zahir Shah in Rome, humbly urged the Bush administration and the Congress to resume U.S. economic and military aid to Islamabad. But a U.S. Defence Department official told this writer that U.S. military assistance to Pakistan would not be restored in the near future. A State Department official said it is not the U.S. policy to give military aid to undeclared nuclear-weapon-states. When his attention was drawn towards U.S. military aid to Israel, which is another undeclared nuclear power, the State Department official failed to present a reasonable and fair argument. However, a political analyst asserts that if Islamabad continued to function as a satellite of the United States, then the United States would even accept a nuclear Pakistan as it has embraced a nuclear Israel.

Press Condemns U.S. Pressure on Austria To Block Arms Sales

92AS0570C Karachi JANG in Urdu 29 Jan 92 p 3

[Editorial: "U.S. Action Outrageous"]

[Text] Even a child in Pakistan knows that during the 1970's, the United States put all kinds of legitimate and illegitimate pressures on France to stop the nuclear reprocessing plant sale to Pakistan. Now we have learned that the U.S. ambassador is trying very hard to get the Austria-Pakistan special steel technology transfer agreement canceled. In this context, the United States has emerged with the same old and much abused reason that such special steel would help Pakistan make dangerous weapons. A country that has done everything it can to destroy the world, has even used air space to destroy humanity, and has done every extreme action is trying to present itself as an ambassador of peace. It just does not behove it. Therefore, the first demand of realistic peacekeeping would be that the United States destroy its own weapons first. This situation about the U.S. love for peace is strange. It supports and helps such enemies of peace as Israel and India. It objects only when an Islamic country in the world is in a position to defend itself. In the context of Pakistan, the United States has a dichotomous policy that should be embarrassing to it, because it has claimed to be a friend of Pakistan for many years. This friendship, however, is such that when Pakistan's defense was endangered in 1965 and 1971, the United States stopped military aid to it and even stopped the supply of spare parts. This is the moral standard of the U.S. Government. What is worse is that the U.S. Government is not satisfied with stopping aid to Pakistan. It wants all other countries in the world to stop cooperating with Pakistan. In simple language, we could call the United States of America an "international friend killer." It has terminated all kinds of aid to Pakistan for over a year. But by the grace of God, Pakistan is moving toward its goals without U.S. aid. God willing, it will be able to survive without U.S. aid. Perhaps the United States is extremely angry at the fact that Pakistan is not begging or crying for its aid. The fact is that the U.S. Government has developed the habit of enjoying the helplessness of others. This satisfies their feeling of superiority. Pakistan, by the grace of God, has the capability to deprive others of the pleasure of watching the spectacle of its helplessness. The proud people of Pakistan have always wanted to get rid of the habit of depending on other nations; however, none of our past governments fulfilled this desire. But the Nawaz Sharif government has taken the path of self-sufficiency to preserve national pride and prestige. The prime minister's recent trip to France has also fulfilled some of our other important needs. Austria is also willing to cooperate with the plan to supply the special steel. In such a situation, we cannot say anything except that the United States wants to weaken Islamic countries through legitimate and illegitimate means by blocking such cooperative projects. The real answer to this deplorable U.S. desire would be cooperation and agreement among

Islamic nations. The U.S. Government should also consider the disgraceful results that the Soviet Union has faced for its efforts to establish its supremacy over other countries and because of its expansionist desires. The foolish policies that the United States is following could hurt it. The people of the United States should warn their government against such adventurous efforts.

Westerners Said To View Islam As Intolerant

92AS0582A Karachi DAWN in English 28 Jan 92
pp 15, 20

[Article by Iqbal Latif: "How West Views Islam"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Islam on the move is a major cause of worry for the West. Vehement debates are set off calling Islam the most intolerant and anti-democratic of all religions and describing the Muslim customs as "archaic Muslim practices." Islam is being presented by some extremist elements within the Muslim nations who, under the garb of serving Islam, resist any intellectual inquiry on Islam as virtual taboo.

The appalling social conditions, an unfortunate part of most of the present Muslim societies, are leading these countries towards radical political effect where religious orthodoxy and militancy is offered as an alternate to the acute suffering and misery of the masses. Devoid of real policies to alleviate the social crises engulfing the entire societies, militant strains and extremist views are nurtured to gain popularity.

The triumphant return to history of the Islamic nations is being seriously hampered by such short-sighted attitudes. These protective actions are leading to misunderstandings and maliciously coupling Islam with militancy and extremism. This misunderstanding can be destructive and an unmanageable problem resulting into a global "Intefada." [as published]

On the other hand, the attitudes of the Western intellectuals to represent Islam as a merciless religion, where cutting off a person's hand for stealing is norm of the society and representing Islamic justice revolving around lashes of oil-soaked leather whip, is equally ignorant and unacademic superficial view of the Islamic thought and civilisation. It is necessary that cultural and historical importance of Islam be studied above such derogatory kind of approach. If the blind shall lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch—this is what the Bible preaches. Ignorance from truth or reality is the worst kind of sin because it brings down a person to insignificance and contemptibility.

The disintegration of the Soviet state and German unification are manageable constructive problems for the West, but Islamic nations' return to history offers a subtle challenge to them. A bit of understanding is required because both sides by misunderstanding, rather than malice, can go wrong.

The general feeling that Islam lacks its own enlightenment to reconcile religion with modern thought because Islamic societies failed to keep up with the development of Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries is an incorrect assumption. The reason that the 18th and 19th centuries were difficult times for Muslims was because of their colonial domination. Muslim nations have emerged from this domination only since last fifty years. There is absolutely no doubt that the main thrust of secular colonial imperialism was cultural in character, although it did serve commercial, strategic and expansionist interests of the colonial powers. The areas of greatest erosion under Western colonial powers was the Islamic faith and culture because this represented beliefs, values, attitudes and manners of a society.

Colonialism's underlying assumption was that race was a fundamental determinant of all history and culture; therefore the key beliefs which raised from such an underlying theory that the colony's culture was far inferior to the West's, people of the colonies were racially different from their masters and this difference was hereditary and, thus, cultural inferiority was also hereditary. It was out of this assumption that a charter of change was promulgated for the colonies. The vision of transformation of inferior races through Western civilisation became the single-most object for the education of the colonial races. Through this re-education it was believed that the cultural life of the people can be transformed and proper military and political control could be established.

The Islamic nations are passing through a very delicate stage. They want to influence and find their lost roots, their beliefs, their values, attitudes and reassertion of identity. This might lead to revivalism in initial stages, but societies move forward not backwards. Let's take the example of the subcontinent. Colonialism received support from evangelists, liberals and utilitarians. In eyes of these three schools of thought, Indian subcontinent's society was marked by a general corruption of manners and was sunk in misery. Each of these schools proposed solutions so that, according to Charles Grant, the subcontinent residents, who were a race of "men lamentably degenerate and base," could be trained for the benefit of mankind.

Islam on the move is a worry which is really uncalled for. The return of Muslim nations to history is the fulfilment of people's inspirations in a post-colonial era; this is the filling of a gap of disappointments. The Islamic societies have the ability to integrate their actions with modern thought. Slowly and steadily, the Islamic countries have shown their expertise in employing technology to the best use.

The very basic elements on which fundamentalism breeds are alien to Islamic thought. Fundamentalism thrives on social crisis, preaches religious orthodoxy and militancy, whereas Islam, on the other hand, views society as a divinely ordained institution. It emphasises on a social fabric for its society as necessary for

imparting knowledge. Consultation, criticism and test of all knowledge against evidence forms the basis of 'Shura'. The principle of consensus (Ijma) and right to creativity belongs to all. In Islamic society, ethical values require the existence of others, interaction with them and justice to them. The concept of morality is essentially an ethic of action, not an ethic of intention.

Astonishingly, the knowledge in the West about Islam is limited; it is tarnished by centuries-old prejudices and misunderstandings. The critiques of Qur'an who read this Book should approach this work with respect. Qur'an preserves for mankind the pure and undistorted words of the Almighty. Even the non-Muslim experts of the Arabic language describe Qur'an as the most extraordinary work of expressive Arabic language and a masterpiece of literature.

The theme of tolerance in Islam is least known amongst the Westerners. Their general view of Islam that it was propagated by fire and sword by its fanatic followers is not subscribed by any single scholar. In reality, Islam, in its very essence, has tolerance written on its brow. Qur'an says, "Let there be no compulsion in religion." The conquest of Makkah is an example which, in Gabrieli's opinion, is a rare event in human history that, "a victor has exploited his victory with greater self-restraint and forbearance than Prophet Mohammed (PBUH).

The people of Book, those possessing scriptures, are placed under the protection of Islam and forbearance towards them is ordained by Prophet Mohammed (PBUH [Peace Be Upon Him]). Prophet is quoted in one of his oral traditions saying that, "Whoever kills anyone of the people of the Book will not inhale the fragrance of paradise." The Christian Community of Nadjran under Prophet's protection thrived. Prophet is quoted as saying that, "If anyone encroaches upon their right, I myself shall be his enemy."

Islam has never been interested in making proselytes. The concept of 'Jihad' and 'Jazia' has frequently been criticised, but one should not forget that the Prophet lived in a world where law of the jungle ruled. There was no state which guaranteed them its institution and secure existence to its citizens. Under such circumstances, Prophet Mohammed (PBUH) could not renounce the right of self-defence.

The expansionist spread of Islam was not a forced conversion of the subdued people. Orientalist, C.H. Becker, emphasises that, "It did not occur to the Muslims at all in the beginning to convert the subjected people." Scholars like Hugo Winkler, Leone Ceatani and C.H. Becker have convincingly proved that everywhere the subjected people enjoyed free exercise of their religion without any doubt. The treatment of the Jews by Islamic society cannot be considered as harsh.

It was under Islamic rule in Spain that medieval Judaism, against which an unscrupulous war of extermination had been previously waged by Orthodoxy, experienced its greatest flowering where its greatest philosopher, Rabbi Moshe Ben Maimon, taught. Bertrand Russell recognises that the 'Caliphate' was distinguished by free thinking latitudinarianism while the Christians remained fanatical. From the beginning, Mohammedans showed themselves tolerant in their dealings with conquered Christians, and to this toleration—which was in strong contrast to the persecuting zeal of the catholic church—the ease of the conquest and the stability of the empire were mainly due.

The spirit of tolerance and indulgence practised by Islamic rulers in Spain is a well-known historical fact. Famous historian, Sigrid Hunke, describes the end of the Islamic era in 15th century Spain when under catholic domination, the spirit of tolerance and indulgence were over. Under Archbishop Juan Ximenez, the Muslims and the rest of the flowering culture sank in a sea of terror in which waves of religious fanaticism devoured everything. Every time they expressed their faith, every time they used their language, every word, every song, they were sent to the galleys, prosecuted and even burnt alive. Whatever the conquering purpose had not destroyed amongst the treasures of Arabic science and poetry, was dragged out and huge piles were thrown into the flames. Who can forget the mass expulsion and devastation of the most flourishing part of the world in a short span.

Islamic history reveals itself as a protector of the weak. During the middle ages when Emperor Leo had the Jews baptised by force, Spanish Jews sought protection from Turkey at the end of the 15th century. To accuse Islam as an intolerant religion is at variance with the teachings of Qur'an.

Islam has produced one of the most remarkable scientific traditions of any pre-modern civilisation—the astronomical writings of Al Fughani; or Nasiruddin Touse, the geoditical, and geological works of Al Biruni, the medical and pharmacological text of Al Razi or Ibn Sina; the optical study of Ibn Al Haytham; or the mathematical studies of Ghiasuddin, Jamshed Kashani, or the algebra of Jabir Ibn Hayyam, and alchemical treatise of Khayyam are major achievements of Islam to science and civilisation.

The ignorance of history and legacy of Islam and misrepresentation of Islamic revival as some kind of dogma which threatens the world peace is a short-sighted attitude of critics of Islam. The political reawakening of the Islamic world should not be confused solely with the extremist attitudes of fundamentalism. To slap the desire of a Muslim with the slogan of "extremism" is injustice to the cause of mankind. Freedom for everybody and malice towards none should be the notion of humankind. One can't separate peace from freedom because no one can be at peace unless he has his freedom.

Forty Billion Rupees in Arms Coming From France*92AS0570A Karachi JANG in Urdu 17 Jan 92 p 17*

[News Report: "Pakistan Purchasing Defense Equipment Worth 40 Billion Rupees From France"]

[Text] Paris (Special Correspondent)—Pakistan has expressed its wish to purchase defense equipment valued at 40 billion rupees from France. Defense Minister Syed Ghaush Shah has started talks with France's defense minister and owners of factories that manufacture Mirage airplanes and submarines. The factory owners have expressed a willingness to supply the equipment on principle. According to our source, Pakistan wants to buy three modern submarines worth about 12.5 billion rupees from France. The price of 48 Mirage planes is more than 25 billion rupees. It was learned that Pakistan wants the first submarine to be manufactured in France and the remaining two to be built in Pakistan after the related technology is transferred. These submarines will carry missiles.

Emerging Relationship With CIS Examined*92AS0582B Karachi DAWN in English 22 Jan 92 p 11*

[Article by Khalid Mahmud Arif: "CIS and Pakistan"]

[Text] Red Europe is dead. The storm that shook East Europe earlier has disintegrated the Soviet Union. A democratic revolution has dismantled communism which had turned the former Soviet Union into the world's largest pressure cooker. The anti-colonial agitation against the four century-old Czarist Imperialism has split the republics into independent states—three opting for independence and the others forming a Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS).

A dejected Mikhail Gorbachev after presiding over the destruction of the Soviet Union bowed out of his office praising the democratic reforms introduced by him since 1985 and bemoaning the collapse of "statehood" because the "decision of this magnitude should have been made on the basis of a popular will." He claimed that he had to make radical changes because the "country was going nowhere." He had introduced a wide package of reforms by which society "has acquired freedom and has been freed politically and economically." Calling his decision of opening up the Soviet society as "historically correct" he thanked all those who stood by him "working for the righteous and good cause."

On the international scene Gorbachev played an active role in defusing tension and creating peace. The Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan was called "a great mistake" and the contingent was withdrawn in 1989. Measures were taken to improve relations with China and discussions were initiated to conclude a peace agreement with Japan. Moscow watched in silence the collapse of its satellites in East Europe. It helped the two

German states to unite. It concluded a number of agreements with the United States on the reduction of nuclear forces.

The forces unleashed by Gorbachev generated their own momentum. Events moved at a rapid pace and in directions not anticipated by him. For the people of many republics it was an opportunity to unite themselves from the shackles of the decades-long state repression which had usurped their fundamental rights and created economic stagnation.

Gorbachev was caught in a self-created quandary. He wanted to preserve the democratic changes and the existing State structure. A socialist at heart, he desired to regulate the reforms through the cumbersome state mechanism which had created the mess earlier. He forgot that revolutions develop their own pace and philosophy. Once let loose they cannot be chained by bureaucratic command systems. The developments generated a velocity which left Gorbachev behind. Having lost his power to lead, he became vulnerable.

Three power groups emerged within the Soviet Union. The traditionalists accused Gorbachev of tearing apart a system of which he himself was a product. The radicals blamed him for doing too little too slowly. Yet to both the groups he was an acceptable person capable of doing the tight rope walk. To the West, he was a darling doing precisely what they wanted to be done for their own vested interest—the split of the country. Gorbachev became a captive of the process he had himself initiated. The jinnee of reforms once released from the bottle could neither be rebottled nor contained. A confused Gorbachev faced a dilemma.

Sheverdnadze's resignation had weakened Gorbachev. The abortive August, 1991 coup d'etat weakened him still further though he survived to remain in power. It boosted up the image of the Russian leader Boris Yeltsin who played a decisive role in crushing it. Yeltsin felt that the Communist Party was a hurdle to the reforms. Within a span of less than five years the Soviet Union slipped from the high pedestal of a superpower to its disintegration in December 1991.

The fall of the Soviet Union has heavily tilted the international power equilibrium in favour of the United States of America. This is a source of elation and arrogance for her and a measure of satisfaction for her Western allies. Till such time that other power centres—Europe, Japan, China and Russia—become sufficiently strong to question and check the unquestioned political supremacy of America the world has to live with one supreme power.

Sooner than later the dynamics of the rise and fall of nations will come into play. The United States having risen to the pinnacle of power will have to strive hard to maintain her position. Soon other countries will start demanding their share in the power cake. For the next one decade or so America is expected to enjoy a unique position.

The Western countries gloat over the demise of communism for reasons of realpolitik. They lavishly praise Gorbachev, who no doubt took bold initiatives during his rule. Bush has expressed his gratitude for Gorbachev's sustained commitment to world peace. Chancellor Kohl pays tribute to him for paving the way for German unification. Mr Mitterrand calls him one of the most remarkable men of the 20th century. John Major says that Gorbachev has earned a secure place in history. The Chinese accuse him of treason against socialism. Within his own country he is stripped of power and authority but retains a measure of personal respect and influence. On the whole Gorbachev will go down in history as a person whose liberal policies gave freedom to the oppressed Soviet bloc people though in the process he tore apart his own country.

The Commonwealth of Independent States is faced with its teething difficulties. It is attempting to forge an arrangement to exercise central control over defence and foreign affairs. The states will be entitled to establish diplomatic and trade relations with other countries and sign treaties with international agencies. Many interfacing subjects like the economic pattern, transport and energy and space ventures will be negotiated separately. The concrete shape and form of the working of the CIS is yet to be announced.

Russia, the biggest of the former republics, has benefited most out of the Soviet implosion. The Western bloc countries have shown extra exuberance in presenting to her the permanent seat in the U.N. Security Council even before the issue was discussed in the World Body. This is the second time that the U.N. Security Council will be turned into a rubber stamp organisation, the first being the Iraq war.

The President of Russia, acting as the bigger partner, has gained control of the nuclear button—an authority which he will exercise in agreement with the other three states having nuclear weapons on their soil. Put together Belarus, Ukraine and Russia constitute 73 percent of the population, 80 percent of the Gross Domestic Product, 74 percent of the agricultural output and 89 percent of the foreign exports of the former Soviet Union. This illustrates the dominance of Russia in the new arrangement.

The Soviet collapse has aroused speculation about the future of its central republics. Some writers in this country have recalled with strong words the mode and manner in which these republics were under the Russian control and tyranny let loose on them in the process of change. These republics have the choice (a) joining together to form a Muslim bloc; (b) establishing links, individually or collectively, with Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan; (c) loosening their ties with the Commonwealth of Independent States; and (d) expanding their economic, industrial, cultural and religious relations with Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan (after a settlement of its problem), Pakistan and the rest of the

world. The first three options, it may be confessed, originate more from the heart than from the head.

The combined population of the Muslim majority republics is about 55 million. They produce cotton and wheat and possess rich resources of oil, gas and coal, and a fairly large range of other metals. Their level of industrial development, though not significantly high, is reasonably good. They blame the ruling Slavic people for their economic exploitation and political domination. Their literacy rate is over 90 percent. Every state has fairly large ethnic minorities in it. Their per capita income is higher than that of Pakistan.

There is no indication that the central republics plan to form a Muslim bloc. Their ethnic diversity, landlocked status, inter-dependence on other CIS states and a low level of development preclude such a possibility. Pragmatically speaking they may prefer to look north towards a better developed and affluent Russia than accept the poverty of the south where the economic and industrial development are inferior to their own. The Western countries would put them under pressure to adopt the Turkish model in which religion and the state function in different compartments.

The 55 million people residing in the central republics with a greater literacy rate and a higher level of industrial development and living would, nevertheless, desire greater economic cooperation with the Muslim countries in the fields of trade, industry, business, management techniques and an exchange of managerial skills. Being landlocked there may also be opportunities for the development of an inland transport system to facilitate movement of goods and services.

The vistas of cooperation would face hurdles needing ingenuity and effort to overcome them. These would include long distances, market mechanism, credit facilities, business ethics, international competition and quality control measures. It is worth remembering the RCD [Regional Cooperation for Development], renamed ECO [Economic Cooperation Organization], had generally failed to produce economic and industrial miracles in Pakistan, Iran and Turkey. Can these countries succeed in the central republics is a moot point. The ECO countries would need to be much more dynamic and aggressive in their approach than they have been hitherto to achieve an economic breakthrough.

Opportunities exist to expand ties in the fields of culture, education, tourism, sports, banking, religion and exchange of delegations. Pakistan's relations with the States of Central Asia and Azerbaijan should be developed on a priority basis without getting euphoric about them. The goals set should be realistic and achievable. They should be pragmatic not emotional and wishful. Let wisdom be tempered with the desire to achieve the possible. For example the Pakistan International Airlines could start its operations in this region.

Pakistan has done well in deciding to open embassies and consulates in these countries. These should be

staffed with men of vision and drive. At the diplomatic level there is a need for a high-level exchange of bilateral visits to engage in mutual discussion on matters of common interest. In the final analysis the political advantages of the association may outweigh other factors. By itself this should be a valuable gain. This opportunity is worth exploring with zeal and speed.

In the emerging scenario the Russian Republic enjoys a special position. The recent visit of its Deputy President to Pakistan was a timely step in the right direction. Pakistan should develop a healthy relationship with Russia to reverse the trend of her subnormal dealings with the erstwhile Soviet Union. On the bilateral plane Pakistan has no dispute with Russia. With the disintegration of the Soviet Union Pakistan's disagreement with her on Afghanistan has lost its relevance.

Being the biggest in size and potential, Russia carries a greater responsibility to keep the CIS in being, overcome its teething difficulties and weld it into a cohesive force. The Russian history belongs to the memory the expansion of the Czarist empire which started from the small duchy of Muscovy. Its hegemonic process of absorbing its neighbours brought its borders to the shores of the Pacific, the centre of Europe and the gates of India.

It will be wise for Russia to remember its autocratic past and the suspicious which the world holds about it. The CIS would be harmed if it acts in an overbearing manner. Its ability to act as an equal among the equals would enhance Russia's own image besides generating confidence in the other member states of the CIS. For Pakistan, Russia provides an opportunity to usher in an era of regional peace and improvement in bilateral relations.

The situation in Afghanistan provides a chance to launch a vigorous effort to settle this dispute on a fair basis. A military solution is not a viable option. The Afghan freedom struggle had forced the Soviet Union to the negotiating table. The issue should be settled through political and diplomatic means in accordance with the aspirations of the people of Afghanistan. The freedom fighters had failed to achieve unity during their operations. They remain divided on some issues concerning their future course of action. This diversity should not block the way of reaching a fair settlement. Let America, Russia, Iran, the United Nations and Pakistan take a lead and evolve a plan which is acceptable to a majority of the people of Afghanistan.

Agreements With Central Asian States Reviewed

92AS0573A Lahore ZINDAGI in Urdu 11-17 Jan 92
pp 32, 33

[Article by Asghar Abdullah: "This is the Most Important Opportunity of the Century for Islam; Impressions of Liaqat Baluch and Ahsan Iqbal; Pakistani Delegation's Tour of Central Asia"]

[Text] As directed by Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, a delegation composed of individuals from various walks

of life left for Russia on 24 November under the leadership of federal minister for economic affairs, Sardar Asif Ali. The delegation consisted of, among others, Liaqat Baluch (politician); A.H. Dani (professor); Dr. Anwar Khan (professor); Farhat Hussain (secretary, economic affairs); Khalid Wahid (owner of Feroz Sons); Ahsan Iqbal (chairman, Institute of Management and Policy); Naim Sarfaraz (businessman); Yaqub Tabani (businessman); Abdul Razaq Rajwani (businessman); Shahzad Qaisar Manu (businessman); Sultan Arifain (businessman); Ashraf Jahangir Qazi (former ambassador to Moscow); Javed Sayyed (consul); Ahmad Rashid (journalist); Zia ud din (journalist), and Ashraf Hashmi (journalist). Liaqat Baluch was the deputy leader of the delegation.

The purpose of the visit to Russia was to study the recent changes in Central Asia, in particular to learn about the affairs and problems of the newly independent Muslim countries. The Pakistani delegation returned on December 16. A member of the delegation said, "We achieved our goals. The delegates not only signed agreements of general public relations but members of the delegation also concluded individual agreements mostly relating to business." ZINDAGI's representative met Liaqat Baluch and Ahsan Iqbal on their return and recorded their impressions.

Ahsan Iqbal (chairman, Institute of Management and Policy): "Our 21-day tour of Russia was aimed at renewing the relations with the newly independent Muslim states, which existed between us and the people of the area before their annexation by Russia. The deep ties that the Muslims of India had with these [Central Asian states] are well-known. Bokhara and Tashkent are parts of our ancient educational and religious inheritance.

Our delegation visited six Muslim states and stayed three days in each place. Upon arrival in each state, our delegates split into groups and met with individuals of similar backgrounds; businessmen met with businessmen and studied matters relating to business in that area. Other delegates did the same. I am interested in the administrative sector and I met people of similar interests and in some places, signed bilateral agreements.

The delegation started its tour from Tashkent which is the capital of Uzbekistan; Islam Karimov is the president. Uzbekistan has a population of 20 million, 70 percent of whom are Muslim and 11 percent Russian. The ancient religious centers of Samarkand and Bukhara are in this state, which is the cultural center of Central Asia. Uzbekistan enjoys the distinction of supplying 60 percent of Russia's gold. The delegation met the members of Uzbekistan's cabinet and exchanged ideas on mutual affairs. The delegates signed educational, administrative, and business agreements; I signed an agreement on behalf of the Institute of Management and Policy under which we will send young people to Russia to study conditions there. I am of the view that if young people from both sides visit each other's countries, a

feeling of harmony will be created, which will be of great value to relations between Pakistan and these Muslim states.

The delegation then visited Azerbaijan, which has a population of 7 million, 80 percent of whom are Muslim and 8 percent Russian; Baku is the capital. The area is self-sufficient in oil; it is a historical fact that Russia fought the Second World War with Baku's oil. Now that the Soviet Union has ended, oil will become an important pillar of the newly independent Muslim state's economy. The Pakistani delegates signed various agreements in Azerbaijan; one businessman, for example, signed an agreement to start a five-star hotel there; another businessman agreed to cooperate with an organization regarding drugs; a group of delegates signed an agreement regarding power generation and I signed an agreement on management.

During our meeting, the prime minister of Azerbaijan said, 'In the past, the Russian media had created negative impressions amongst us in regard to Pakistan; but these impressions changed suddenly in 1988 when President Zia supported Azerbaijan in its dispute with Armenia. The Muslims of this area have a warm corner in their hearts for Pakistan.' After our meeting, when an American correspondent asked the leader of the Pakistani delegation whether the aim of our tour of Central Asia was to create a new Islamic bloc, before the leader of the delegation could reply, the prime minister of Azerbaijan retorted, 'We are all Muslims and, as Muslims, it is our right to broaden relations with each other. When Western countries sign agreements of cooperation and friendship with each other, we do not say, a Christian bloc is forming.' The Azerbaijani prime minister's remark silenced the American journalist. From Azerbaijan we went to Tajikistan, which is contiguous to Afghanistan. It has a population of 5 million, 70 percent of which is Muslim and 10 percent Russian. The language of Tajikistan is Farsi and we were not surprised that [the Pakistani poet] Iqbal is popular here; but we were surprised to learn that Iqbal's verses were recited in freedom demonstrations here and shouted as slogans. In one of the places we visited in Tajikistan, we saw a toppled statue of Lenin. Although the Tajiks speak Farsi, they belong to the Sunni sect. The population of Kyrgyzstan is 4 million; 55 percent are Muslim and 22 percent Russian. We stayed there three days and traveled to Kazakhstan; the president is Nur Sultan. Kazakhstan has a population of 17 million; 55 percent are Muslim and 45 percent Russian. This state is important because of its size, which is as large as India's. The economy is totally based on agriculture. The state has nuclear installations and industrially is counted among the developed states. Finally, the Pakistani delegation reached Ashkhabad; the noteworthy fact about this city is that after the dissolution of the Soviet Union when Russian states decided to form a commonwealth, their meeting was held in Ashkhabad.

During this tour of Muslim states, I observed certain things, one of which was that Russians living in these

states are beset with various kinds of misgivings; young Russians in particular are worried and many are fleeing toward Russian states. They consider their careers at an end in the Muslim states. Second, the ruling authorities in the Muslim states are of the view that what is popularly called a fundamentalist form of government should not come into office in Afghanistan. They wish to see a government in Afghanistan that would not cause large-scale upheaval because they think that if an upheaval should again create an exodus of refugees, these would not head for Pakistan but towards the Central Asian States and cause great harm to their economies.

Third, Israel is already very active in these states and is trying to promote business ties. The Israeli undersecretary of state is on record as saying that Israel was concerned about the Central Asian Muslim states. If Israel is so concerned, then it is time for the Islamic world to become concerned as well.

During their travels, members of the Pakistani delegation exchanged ideas about the fall of the Soviet Union. I attribute the fall to three factors: political, economic, and religious. The political reason was Gorbachev's criticism of the Communist Party. Whatever its shortcomings may have been, since there were no other political institutions in existence there, the Communist Party was the only organization keeping the union together. When the act of destruction started from within the Communist Party, its political grip weakened and the union fell apart.

The economic factor responsible for the downfall of the Soviet Union was the utter failure of the Russian economic system; of course, when a country's economic system fails, its entire system fails as well. In my view, the Russian economic system would have ended long ago if it had not been for Stalin's intervening term of office; his power prolonged the life of the system which, to begin with, lacked any elements of incentive; and when 'Gorby' destroyed the element of fear as well, the entire structure came crashing down. As Muslims, we might attribute the fall of the [communist] system to blows inflicted on it by the religious fervor of the Afghan jihad, which splintered the Russian empire. It was the religious faith of the mujahidin, which destroyed the spell of Russian power; who else would have dared to challenge the might of the Soviet empire?

At any rate, a political vacuum now exists at the international level and there is an ideological vacuum as well. It is the duty of the Muslims to apply their energies and fill the ideological vacuum; I regard this the opportunity of the century."

Liaquat Baluch: "The 70-year artificial system of oppression and force in Russia has failed. In our meetings, the leadership in those areas acknowledged that communism was a mere fraud perpetrated on the people who did not participate in the system of their own free will. But now there is the danger that having freed themselves from an oppressive regime, the Muslims of that area may fall into

the economic clutches of American and Western imperialism. If this crime should be perpetrated, all Muslim countries would be responsible for it.

Such is the sorry state of the Muslim Central Asian countries that for the last 70 years their mosques have remained closed. I saw mosques that had been converted into museums and major religious schools and Islamic universities that had been made into circuses and dance halls. But this oppression did not keep the people away from their religious faith nor did it crush their spirit. Now that they are free, they have returned to religion and its values. There is a rapidly growing desire to restore the mosques, to give religious education to the young, and to restore Islamic culture. The mosques in which for years no one had prayed are now full again.

Communist parties in the Central Asian Muslim countries have changed their names and reestablished themselves in power but they have not been able to stem the popular tide against the present system. Fundamentalism is rising in opposition to communism and a leadership is emerging on the popular level, which gives every indication that in the near future, the affairs of these countries will be in its hands. There are feelings of respect for the Afghan mujahidin in all the states and nearly all of them have announced their cooperation with the mujahidin. In Tajikistan, the government has offered to arrange a conference in the capital, Dushanbe, to try to solve the Afghanistan problem. Tajikistan's position is that as Afghanistan's neighbor, it is interested in a speedy solution of the problem. A meeting was held with the vice president of the Russian Federation in regard to the Afghanistan problem.

The day we arrived there, 17 rubles could buy one U.S. dollar whereas on the market, the rate was 35 rubles to a dollar. The second or third day, the rate was 70 rubles to a dollar and on the day we left, the market rate was 270 rubles to a dollar. The stores are empty; people wait in long lines for several hours to obtain a day's rations.

Western media communications support aid to Russia but because of their prejudice, ignore the Muslim states; and the Russian states, for their part, keep all the aid for themselves. They also did their best to crush the Muslim states. In view of this situation, it is necessary for the OIC [Organization of the Islamic Conference?] to step into the arena and demonstrate its performance. We think that there is a vast field of opportunity for Pakistan in the Muslim states. The latter want a resolution of the Afghanistan problem in order that they may be able to establish contacts with the outside world through Pakistan and Afghanistan. These Muslim states are close to our hearts; but how close they are in distance as well can be gauged by the fact that the port of Karachi is the closest one to every state of Central Asia. Karachi is only 3,000 km away from some of these states, whereas Russian ports are 9,000 km distant.

1. It is necessary to establish relations as quickly as possible with the Muslim states. Consulates should be

established at once in Dushanbe, Baku, and Tashkent and air service started as well.

2. There is a severe shortage of drugs in all the Central Asian states and hospitals and shops as well are out of drug supplies. Patients are under great stress. The Government of Pakistan should arrange for speedy shipments of drugs.

3. Pakistan should propose membership for the Central Asian states in the United Nations and the Organization of the Islamic Conference.

4. The Central Asian Muslim states should be included in agreements such as the OCI, which exist among Pakistan, Iran, and Turkey so that this whole area of Muslim brothers can become a single trade zone.

5. Religious, trade, and cultural relations with these states should be made more effective."

Embassies Opening in Central Asian States

92AS0582C Karachi DAWN in English 28 Jan 92 p 1

[Text] Islamabad, Jan 27—Pakistan has decided to open its missions at the ambassadorial level in Tashkent (Uzbekistan), Alma Ata (Kazakhstan) and Dushanbe (Tajikistan).

This was announced by Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Siddique Kanju at a briefing here on Monday.

Diplomatic officials, he said, will be in position in these Capitals within the next couple of weeks.

"We have, in principle, also decided to have missions in other Central Asian Capitals and Baku (Azerbaijan)," he added.

Mr Kanju said the Prime Minister has already invited the Presidents of all the six Muslim republics, and visits from President Islam Karimov of Uzbekistan and President Niyazov of Turkmenistan are expected in the next couple of months.

Referring to the high-level Pakistani delegation to the Central Asian Republics, which was led by Minister of State for Economic Affairs Sardar Assef Ahmed Ali, he said during the visit memorandums of understanding were signed between Pakistan and these republics for cooperation in the political, economic, commercial, cultural and other fields.

"An Uzbek Civil Aviation delegation is expected soon to finalise agreement for establishing PIA [Pakistan International Airlines] air-link with Tashkent," he disclosed.

Pakistan, he said, has also decided to send emergency relief consignment of medicines to all the six republics.

"We have already offered 30 million dollars credit to Uzbekistan and 10 million dollars credit each to other four Central Asian Republics and Azerbaijan for purchase of goods from Pakistan," he added.

Programmes for exchange of delegations and development of multifaceted cooperation are being worked out by various ministries and agencies of the government, he further said.

"There will be exchanges of scholars, businessmen, students, cultural and sports delegations and Pakistan will also be extending training facilities to these republics in educational and professional areas, and in order to monitor these programmes, a special desk has been set up in the Foreign Office."

Czechs To Sell 300 T-72 Soviet Tanks

92AS0585C Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST*
in English 1 Feb 92 p 1

[Text] Prague (AFP)—The Czechoslovak arms export firm Unimpex has been negotiating with Pakistan for the sale of 300 T-72 tanks worth nearly 200 million dollars the magazine *RESPEKT* reported on Thursday.

The Soviet tanks, built under licence by the Slovak company ZTS Martin are to be delivered to Pakistan by a Swiss firm, Evair Associate and Simon AG, the report said.

The draft contract also includes the supply of ammunition for the T-72 tanks and a possible future sale to the Pakistan Army of 200 used T-55 tanks which the Czechoslovak Army has cut from its arsenal as part of conventional arms reductions in Europe.

The contract describes the used tanks as being in "good condition."

The possibility of arms sales to Pakistan was discussed during a visit to Islamabad last November by Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa.

Calfa was accompanied by 36 businessmen, about one-third of whom were arms specialists, *RESPEKT* said. Included in the delegation was the managing director of ZTS Martin.

The magazine also said that Prague was negotiating with Iran for the sale of three Tamara MSC-90 electronic systems used in the detection of fighter planes.

Built by the Tesla firm in Pardubice, the systems cost between 14 and 20 million dollars each.

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

Indian Intelligence Said Using 'Beautiful Young Girls'

92AS0585D Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST*
in English 2 Feb 92 p 10

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] A recent story in the Urdu press tells us that RAW [Research and Analysis Wing-Indian Intelligence] has sent 200 'beautiful' young girls across the border in Sindh to make contact with political leaders and high officials in the province. The report was filed by a

reporter in Sukkur who thinks that these girls, members of an organisation called 'Black Cat,' will instigate more violence in Sindh by seducing the various important personalities, including those inside the nationalist groups.

This is the unkindest cut of all and Islamabad should complain most vociferously to New Delhi for resorting to this 'below-the-belt' method. The girls are said to be the 'wining-and-dining' sort, used to entertainment at night, and knowledgeable about the idiosyncrasies of the Pakistani male. It is not clear how the reporter thinks our leaders and officials will get time out of the 'merrymaking' organised by these girls to indulge in violence. The traditional view was the Muslim rulers forgot how to ply their ancestral trade of war after being enthralled by the Indian harem. It is, however, possible that these girls will 'circulate' in such a manner as to poison the minds of the various personalities against one another if the minds are not already poisoned. We apprehend that a new, totally unforeseen problem may arise after the girls have settled down to their job in Sindh. Other provinces, particularly Punjab, where virility is not lacking, may object to the one-sidedness of the whole affair. RAW should be taxed with the universal principle of even-handedness and equality, and asked to divide the Black Cat group evenly among the four provinces or, provided there is an excess of pretty girls in India, send 1,200 more to square up with Pakistan.

Islamic Conference Seen as 'Usual Dismal Failure'

92AS0585I Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST*
in English 26 Jan 92 p 11

[Article by Muqadam Khan: "OIC: A Critical Evaluation"; italicized words, quotation marks as published]

[Text] [Boxed item] In case of Kashmir the OIC [Organization of the Islamic Conference] is helpless. The Muslims in the held Kashmir are being subjected to the most heinous atrocities by the Indian occupied forces. They remained under indefinite curfew, food and medicines are not available, women are being molested and raped, children are being killed and young Kashmiris are being tortured, but OIC has failed to pressurise India to stop brutalities over Kashmiri Muslims. [end box]

The sixth summit of the Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC) held in Dakar from 9 to 11 December 1991 reflects its usual dismal failure. Once again the member countries of the OIC have drawn an imaginary portrait to stand united which testifies to the fact that the *Ummah* presently lacks unity and practical steps which are absolutely needed at this juncture of history, because the cold-war has ended, the USSR is no longer present as a global actor and a new era of domination by America as a single super power is in the offing.

Due to the desecration of *Al-Aqsa* mosque by the Zionists, the Islamic *Ummah* felt a great need for an organisation of their own to discuss and sort out the solution of the problems confronted by the Muslims. The OIC was

founded some 23 years ago. The summit and ministerial level meetings have provided golden opportunities to the Muslim states to discuss and find out solutions of the problems causing headache for the *Ummah* from time to time.

The last OIC summit at Dakar was held at a crucial time. Israel has adopted a defiant stand on withdrawal from occupied territories which it has been holding since June, 1967. Kashmir is burning. The U.S. accused Libya in the bombing of the Pan-Am airliner over Lockerbie. Iraq was brutally beaten by the allied forces and Afghanistan is still far away from its destiny (peace) despite the fall of the USSR. The OIC expressed full solidarity with Libya, called for an early solution of the Palestine question and Afghan crisis passed a resolution for the first time on Kashmir and voiced deep concern and urged the *Ummah* to work for the cause of the Muslim minorities around the globe.

The Dakar summit seems an utter flop in many respects. First, only five heads of state and government out of 21 Middle East state participated. Without the cooperation of the Middle Eastern countries this organisation at this hour of need may not address properly the real issues. Most of the leaders left for home before the final declaration of the conference.

Second, a resolution was passed to oppose the move to rescind the United Nations resolution equating Zionism with racism. It was a great astonishment that we found most of the Muslim countries in the Zion-American camp in repealing of the UN resolution of 1975, which is not only a remarkable achievement for Israel and the United States, but a shocking and humiliating defeat for the OIC members.

Third, although the OIC called for the solution, it reaffirmed its old stand but dropped the word of Jihad in the case of Palestine.

Why the OIC failed to achieve its objectives? Why the OIC has not become an effective organisation? These are the questions to be addressed.

First, the division and animosity in the rank of the Muslim countries led to a dead end. Second, the Islamic *Ummah* has remained under the umbrella of Yankee-imperialism. When the Western countries needed the Muslim nations, they used them as a tool, but once the Americans achieve their objectives they dropped them like hot potatoes. When the United States was badly needing Pakistan during the Soviets occupation of Afghanistan it embraced her, but when the Russian troops withdrew from there, the United States has not only said goodbye to Islamabad but pressurised Pakistan to move for a compromise with India on Kashmir, to cut arms expenditure and to sign the non-proliferation treaty. The Western countries instigated Saddam Husayn to attack Iran. Syria is too vulnerable to the U.S. imperialism due to the Soviet Union demise which had stood by it in every thick and thin in the past.

The Muslims had sensed a great satisfaction on the establishment of the OIC, but it failed to sort out collective panacea for their collective problems, particularly the OIC faced ignominious failure in the following crisis.

The OIC failed to find out the solution of the Palestine problem. Israel refused to withdraw from the occupied territories. It adopted "bone-smashing" policy vis-a-vis the 'Intifada' and continued settlement in occupied territories. Albeit the OIC called for the restoration of the old status of Jerusalem, it had before June 1967. It asked for help of the powerful states and international community to pressurise Israel to withdraw from all occupied territories. It also espoused the struggle of the people of Palestine for the liberation. All those were paper work and now at the Dakar Summit the OIC has deleted the word of Jihad in the case of Palestine struggle. Egypt and Turkey have already full diplomatic relations with Israel while the other Muslim countries are near to recognise it.

In case of Kashmir the OIC is helpless. The Muslims in the held Kashmir are being subjected to the most heinous atrocities by the Indian occupied forces. They remained under indefinite curfew, food and medicines are not available, women are being molested and raped, children are being killed and young Kashmiris are being tortured, but OIC has failed to pressurise India to stop brutalities over Kashmiri Muslims.

The OIC adopted a resolution on Kashmir at Dakar, urging its secretary-general to send a three-member fact finding mission to Kashmir. But India refused to allow international organisations to study the human rights violation in occupied Kashmir. She has also given negative response to any investigative or mediatory team to come to India.

During the Iran-Iraq war, the OIC did not succeed in stopping butchering of Muslims by Muslims. Over a million were killed and material losses exceeded 180 billion dollars. The war broke out in September 1980 and ended in August 1988 when Iran accepted the UN Security Councils' Resolution 598. The OIC did not condemn Iraq even indirectly for its aggression. President Zia-ul-Haq in his capacity as chairman of *Ummah* committee undertook a visit to Tehran and Baghdad. His peace mission and the committee could not produce positive results. All the OIC members excluding Syria and Libya, who kept on crying for an ideal unity of the *Ummah* poured billions of dollars to fuel this war and Western countries supplied sophisticated weapons because they perceived Iranian revolution as a grave threat to their interests. The pro-Western countries among the Muslim nations successfully isolated Iran.

The OIC remained completely a rubber stamp during the Gulf crisis. The OIC first failed to prevent Iraq from occupying Kuwait. A genuine effort was not made to persuade Saddam Husayn to vacate Kuwait. It also did not intervene to give more time to sanctions. The

Ummah did not stop the merciless annihilation of the Iraq civil population from carpet bombing of the allied forces.

The invasion of Kuwait was encouraged by the United States, then used it as a pretext to strengthen her grip over the Middle East oil and ensure Israel's dominance in this vital region. During the Gulf war the civil population of most of the Muslim countries supported Saddam Hussain, but in contrast their rulers backed the U.S. policy against Iraq.

Afghanistan is still a flame. Although the Soviet troops have withdrawn, the OIC has failed to bring peace in this ill-fated Muslim state. The Western powers have now left Pakistan all alone because they achieved their objective to roll back the Russians from Afghanistan. This was predicted by most of the analysts before the withdrawal of the Soviet troops.

The International Islamic News Agency which was set up by the OIC to counter the anti-Muslim propaganda by the Western media could not produce the expected results. The economic integration of the *Ummah* is merely a rosy dream which may not come true. Politically it is bankrupt. If the present division, disintegration among the Muslim countries, continued they would not be able to get rid of their difficulties. Islamic states are strategically very important, world maritime routes are under their control. It is said if you control the water ways of any vital region you control the economy of that region and when you control the economy you control it politically.

INTERNAL AFFAIRS

President Accused of Making False, Misleading Claims

92AS0585H Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST
in English 24 Jan 92 pp 10-11

[Article by Ahmad Bashir: "The Great Disorder"; italicized words, quotation marks as published]

[Text] The day President Ghulam Ishaq Khan said at Karachi that the law and order situation had improved, according to a JANG report, 61 people had been kidnapped for ransom in Hala alone. An innocent person had also been killed. An officer of the Qasim Rangers told THE FRONTIER POST that a gang of 15 dacoits attacked buses and trucks on the highway, 145 kilometres from Hyderabad, and injured six. In Dadu district, another gang of highwaymen kidnapped five and killed one. In Goth Faiz Mohammad, a third gang shot dead a policeman who had come home on leave. After killing him they carried away his father-in-law for ransom. From village Fatsirai, five kilometres from Mehar Town, they kidnapped two. A villager, Maula Bux, met the same fate in village Dabi. How much the tally makes?

But all is well, according to the president. And if all is not well, there has been improvement in the situation. He

did not say how he came to this conclusion. His patriarchal verdict had nothing to do with reality on the ground. He was giving the nation another dose of propaganda. Talking to the MNAs [members of National Assembly] and MPAs [members of Provincial Assembly] of Sindh at the State Guest House at Karachi, he cast pearls of wisdom when he said that supremacy of law could be fully established only when all criminal elements were dealt with equally and no one was allowed to escape the net. Too true.

But what when the high and the mighty behaved as outlaws? What about his son-in-law, and his favourite Jam? What about himself? Has he not been giving protection to their vandalism? He emphasised the need to promote a collective approach and national outlook for the elimination of all causes of discord and hatred among various sections of the society to successfully tackle problems facing the nation. But what about his one-sided accountability and his tribal feud with the opposition? Is he trying to solve the problem by a collective approach, or is he deepening the crises?

It is true that since the Jam-MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] coalition, urban centres of Sindh have been bleeding less. There have been cases of murder, arson, kidnapping, police terrorism, death in judicial custody, gang-rapes, etc. etc., but we have not heard about the sudden appearance of masked men going berserk and indiscriminate shooting by them of innocent men and women. It does not, however, mean that the phenomena has come to an end for good.

The day the Jam government is toppled, or the MQM is out of power, the masked men will reappear to give Karachi and Hyderabad another bloodbath. The president and the prime minister are not unaware of the reality of Sindh, but the president recommends a more intense propaganda campaign to highlight the 'successes' of the Jam government.

What are these successes? The dacoits have a free hand in rural Sindh with the police and the pro-Jam *waderas* at their back more openly. Army officers have been kidnapped, insulted, and tortured, with no questions asked. The enquiring officer in the Veena Hayat gang-rape case exonerated the president's son-in-law, but held nobody responsible for the crime.

He admitted that the investigation had left much to be desired, but he took no action against those that had failed in their duty. Refugees from India continue to illegally migrate to Karachi with the blessings of the MQM, whose men are in a position of power and are eager to provide them with identity cards. Its members have thousands of licensed kalashnikov guns and many more thousands of other illegal weapons. The people and the government of Sindh are hostage to the culture of violence.

Altaf Bhai, the *pir* of Azizabad, is reportedly advised by the Indian intelligence agency RAW [Research and Analysis Wing] and the CIA, in his political pursuits. He

insists on the repatriation of Biharis, or else. The Sindhis are being reduced to a minority, but Nawaz Sharif has submitted to the MQM blackmail, and is working on a plan for their settlement in the Punjab.

Mr. Bhutto settled 160,000 Biharis in the Gujranwala district, but all of them sold their properties and residential quarters and shifted to Karachi, to be resettled again. The Sindhis know that even if the Biharis are settled in the Punjab, it will only be a temporary stopover. Sindh will be their ultimate destination. A very troubled future is ahead, therefore.

The Seraikis are already restless, because the Biharis are likely to be settled in their area. They are agitating against the mischief. We will have another ethnic problem at hand if the Biharis are imposed on the Seraikis.

Mian Nawaz Sharif is not oblivious to the danger of civil strife in the Punjab and Sindh, but he is working for bread this day, for, tomorrow is another day, and those who will see tomorrow may pay the bill, for all that he cares. All he wants is to keep his rickety coalition intact whatever the cost, and as long as he can. What is there to write home about, Mr. President? Have you ever thought of the callous neglect of the Sindhis? What do you make out of long marches of Palejo and Saqi? They were certainly not pleasure trips. They were peaceful, but they also carried a message 'Wake Up Sindhis.'

When the Sindhis wake up, you will be sorry, Mr. President. You may not be there, but the Sindhis will live forever. And live with honour. There is neither law nor order in the kingdom of Pausole, a character I am borrowing from Pierre Louise. Pausole was a king who drove everything unpleasant under the rug, and let things take their own course. Is that not what our king has been doing? Has he ever acted in earnest and for the good of the people?

All Pakistani rulers have been pleading for the maintenance of law and order, but all ended up with greater lawlessness and disorder. It is not because something is inherently wrong with our psychology. The reason lies elsewhere. It is because, no ruler of Pakistan, since the death of the Quaid-i-Azam, has shown any respect for law and order. The allotment fever of the fifties was the first chapter of anarchy in Pakistan. That became the government of Pakistan's distinctive feature. Then came loot for jobs. People were not recruited on merit but on the basis of ethnicity and *safarish*. The Objectives Resolution was an organised effort by the state bureaucracy for control over the state. Ultimate sovereignty belonged to Allah, but it was to be exercised by the CSP. That was the essence of the Objectives Resolution. The people were to have no role in the management of Pakistan. The bureaucracy entered into an unholy alliance with feudal politicians and *mullahs* to perpetuate itself. The generals were coopted later, to complete the circle. Ghulam Mohammad's dismissal of the assembly was a legal fraud which ushered in the era of dictatorship. Usurpation of

the state, if successful, became constitutionally valid, when Ayub Khan struck. He handed over charge to Yahya Khan in violation of his own constitution.

The *momin* Ziaul Haq overthrew a democratically elected government under the law of necessity—the law of Might is Right. That became an ideology. All Pakistan dictators have been living by the sword. All died in shame. And what about elected governments?

Mr. Junejo was dismissed because he had agreed to solve the Afghan problem peacefully and had threatened to enquire into the Ojhri Camp blast. Benazir Bhutto's government was overthrown because she tried to break out of the civil and military stranglehold. Mian Nawaz Shaif came in power through massive rigging of elections. The recent local bodies elections in the Punjab have been only a repeat performance.

It is now believed that Pakistan will never have free and fair elections and that democracy has no future because people will never be able to elect their representatives in accordance with their wishes. The judiciary has been a party to the destruction of Pakistan's legal and political system, though some judges in their individual capacity, tried to save the situation.

Justice Munir, Justice Anwarul Haque, and Justice Maulvi Mushtaq, are our history's most unforgettable characters, and they will live longer than Justice Durab Patel, Justice Safdar Shah, and Justice Yakub Ali, because of their reproductive evil.

Pakistan is now a lawless state. Violence has become the arbiter of the nation's destiny, and blackmail, a science of ideas. Look at what the *maulvis* are doing. Look at the exploits of the MNAs and the MPAs of the IJI [Islami Jamjoori Ittehad]. Look at the MQM style of politics. Look at the police. Look at the dacoits and their feudal godfathers. The cooperatives scam has shamed nobody. The madam and the maulana story was hushed up. Also hushed up was Miss Veena's gang-rape. Murders are committed in judicial lockups. Robbers are not challenged. Roads are not safe. Homes are under constant threat. FIRs [First Information Reports] cannot be registered. Women are being daily burnt alive.

Humans do not have the rights of animals in our Islamic Republic of Pakistan, now governed by Shariah laws. But said President Ghulam Ishaq Khan that the law and order situation had improved. The government's only failure lay in adequate publicity of its achievements. He also complimented the Sindh government for its successes in the fields of education, agriculture, pest control, civic amenities, law-making etc. etc.

But ask the people. Education is beyond the reach of the common man. In agriculture we are a failure. Last year we had to import 2,000,000 tonnes of wheat. Next year, it is likely to be more. Pest control has poisoned the soil and deadly chemicals have been driven deep into the sub-soil water. About civic amenities the less said the better. We live in heaps of garbage. So far as law-making

is concerned, we have not heard of any law which might give relief to the broad masses. Indirect taxation had broken the back of the middle class. Nobody can live within his honest means, now. President Ghulam Ishaq Khan is an economist. I challenge him to make a viable family budget for any fixed income group.

I will close this piece with a reproduction of an appeal which THE FRONTIER POST carried in its issue of the 16 January. It was an SOS from the citizens of Barra, district Larkana under the heading "*Dardmandana Appeal*."

"For God's sake, come to our rescue," words uttered by Hazrat Imam Hussain (RA) at Karbala. Can we get any help? Today we appeal to the ruling politicians and bureaucrats through your newspaper to come to our aid. Otherwise we will hold you by the apron in front of Allah who created you and all of us, and in front of the Messenger, whose *ummatis* all of us are. From our eyes flows blood instead of tears. We have peace neither in the day nor in the night. Our honour is not safe in our own land. On 14 January, six persons were kidnapped from the deep of Barra town, in full view of the police. The dacoits walked away on foot. On 11 January, some dacoits tried to lift a man from the rice mill, but did not succeed. They injured two persons before they left. The same night dacoits broke into a residence, kidnapped two persons, killed a third, and injured two. While running away, they fired a rocket at the people who ran after them. They then walked away on foot, but the police did nothing. On 9 January, dacoits stopped a car, killed one man, and snatched from the woman her ornaments.

They began to beat their breasts on the roadside and asked the ruling politicians and officers of the country, "Kashmir, Afghanistan, and Lebanon, are here now. What should we wait for? Should we wait for the kidnapped or for those whose dead bodies are lying on the roadside? O God! split the earth for us to be buried into it. O Rulers! when you cannot defend your own people, how can you run our government? For God's sake control the fire that our enemies have lighted in our houses, or step down from governance."

"We ask our religious leaders, are those that are being subjected to *zulm* not the *ummatis* of the same Messenger, whose *ummatis* you claim to be? On the Day of Judgement Allah and His Prophet (PBUH [Peace Be Upon Him]) will say that when bad times hit my creation, you sat in comfort in your homes. On which side is your loving Prophet (PBUH), we ask our rulers.

Where is your Islamic republic? In *chadar* and *chardevari*, nobody's honour is safe. Give us protection and peace in the name of Allah, who gave you your chair. O Rulers! think of the mother whose son was killed, two sons were kidnapped, and husband wounded, now on deathbed. For whom should she weep? For the son who was killed, or for the two who were kidnapped, or for the

husband who is on the frontiers of life and death? O Ruling politicians and officers! fear Allah and come to our help."

This is the reality of Sindh. What President Ghulam Ishaq Khan said was hogwash. There can be no law and order in a state in which the rulers do not sow respect for law and order, first.

Talking down to people is the privilege of the angels and all the angels, it seems, have abandoned their heavenly abodes to settle down in the Pakistani establishment.

Beg Alleges Pressure, Threat From U.S.

92AS0582D Karachi DAWN in English 28 Jan 92
pp 1, 16

[Excerpt] Karachi, Jan 28—Former Chief of the Army Staff General (retd) Mirza Aslam Beg said here on Tuesday Pakistan would remain under constant U.S. pressure as, after Iraq, it was the only Muslim country with nuclear capability.

"I know for certain," the General said, "Pakistan's nuclear programme has remained what it was during the Zia regime and what it was when Ms Benazir Bhutto was in power."

He asked why Pakistan was now being pressured. It "certainly suits the U.S. global strategy," he pointed out.

He was speaking at the annual dinner of the Rotary Club, Karachi East, on "Options for Islamic World with particular reference to Pakistan in the emerging New World Order."

Gen Beg, who was given a standing ovation by the audience during his hour-long speech called for a dynamic and pragmatic foreign policy and vigorous diplomacy.

He pointed out that the nuclear devices of the Central Asian Republics were under the control and domination of Moscow. After the disintegration of the Soviet Union and destruction of Iraq, "it suits the superpower to keep Pakistan under constant pressure," he remarked.

He warned against a possible massive air strike against Libya which was now being isolated like Iraq was before the U.S. attack.

He said Russia, Belarus and Ukraine were the most powerful states of the former Soviet Union and despite disintegration of the USSR neither its political set-up nor armed forces and administration had changed. Its power potential remained intact.

He said it was just a matter of a few years that it would emerge not only as a regional but a superpower.

Gen. Beg sounded a note of caution against the designs of a collusion between India and the United States and said in coming months, efforts would be made to isolate Pakistan by creating misunderstanding between countries like Pakistan, Iran, China and Afghanistan.

Four Options: He said there were four options before Pakistan: to confront the United States and get destroyed like Iraq followed by Libya; follow Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain and the UAE [United Arab Emirates] where the United States had underwritten their security and thereby lose part of "our sovereignty and freedom," follow Turkey, Egypt and Syria which were rewarded for their role in the Gulf war by not raising their voice and allowing the United States to take whatever action it deemed to achieve its desired objectives; and neither confront the United States nor surrender but develop a kind of relationship as a self-respecting nation which protects its interest and freedom. [passage omitted]

Sharif, Khan, Praised for Avoiding U.S. Senator

92AS0572A Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 14 Jan 92
p 10

[Editorial "Mr. Pressler, This Is the Correct Behavior"]

[Text] The Government of Pakistan has protested strongly against the statement of U.S. Senator Larry Pressler in New Delhi and president of Pakistan Ghulam Ishaq Khan and prime minister Nawaz Sharif have canceled their meetings with the senator. Senator Pressler's statement against Pakistan in New Delhi was based on fabricated and one-sided charges. He believed what the Indian authorities told him and repeated the accusations. In his meetings with Pakistani authorities, he has maintained that his statement was published in a distorted form. He cannot be believed because, first of all, he is not noted for any sympathy towards Pakistan, which so far has been the only country affected by the famous Pressler Amendment, whereas India and Israel continue to benefit from U.S. favors. Under such circumstances, the president and prime minister of Pakistan did the right thing by refusing to meet Senator Pressler. For some time past, members of the U.S. Congress and U.S. Government officials have been continuously visiting Pakistan as though it were a U.S. colony. Members of the anti-Pakistan lobby such as Stephen Solarz visit Pakistan and meet with the prime minister and the president; but their next stop is India where they raise a storm of anti-Pakistan propaganda. This anti-Pakistan lobby is quite active in the United States as well. When chairmen of Pakistan's high-level institutions such as the senate visit the United States, U.S. authorities are chary of the courtesies required by protocol. In the future, [visiting] U.S. congressmen and government officials should not be treated with unnecessary hospitality and greater courtesy than required by their posts so that these individuals would realize that they are visiting an independent country that desires to live with honor and dignity.

Significant Changes in Foreign Policy Foreseen

92AS0571A Karachi JANG in Urdu 21 Jan 92 p 3

[Article by Mirza Mohammed Ilias: "Indications of Changes in Foreign Policy"]

[Text] There are clear indications of changes in Pakistan's foreign policy. It is a bitter fact that we are moving away from the path we had chosen to follow. We are also destroying the principles that we had adopted, believing that these were the principles and choices that were related to ideological identity, Pakistan's democracy, and to the Islamic world's problems. We thought we would be proud and successful by following these principles and this path.

Our government declared many aspects of U.S. aid suspension to be detrimental to our nation. If we look closely at the whole situation, it appears that we had made a serious mistake by using the suspension of U.S. aid as a pawn. All political activities related to this effort gave the impression that we considered the suspension of U.S. aid to be analogous to dislike for our leaders. We are aware of the fact that we can not only survive without U.S. aid, but also can hold up our head high with pride. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif told the nation when he became the new leader that Pakistan would never accept U.S. aid as charity; however, his recent statement has shaken the people up. He said that the nation was feeling the effects of the suspension of U.S. aid, and he felt that our country could not meet its defense needs without this aid. He said this while addressing a meeting of Pakistan's navy.

Before this, be it the conference of Islamic leaders in Dakar, the SAARC [South Asian Regional Association for Cooperation] platform, or the conference of investment in Pakistan, our president, prime minister, and all leaders and ministers repeatedly declared that Pakistan wanted to sit with the rest of the nations of the world on a basis of justice and equality. According to them, Pakistan was not willing to accept any world power that would ignore these principles. The present developments and situations, however, indicate that the days are not far away when we will not be able to claim to have an independent foreign policy.

The magnificent struggle that Pakistan led against Afghanistan to fight Soviet aggression cannot be culminated in a situation where a government is established that is not a representative government of the Afghan people. This government has been forcibly imposed on them and is anti-Pakistan. Our foreign policymakers should think briefly about our role in establishing a government that might become a threat to us tomorrow. Ignoring the Afghan mujahidin and making decisions just because of some dangers is not appropriate. We cannot sacrifice our 11-year relationship with the Afghan mujahidin just to get U.S. aid reinstated. In fact, it is not really aid; actually, this is just an indication that the American government is pleased with us. In order to determine the path we will follow, our politicians and government should change their attitude of looking toward superpowers to protect their hold on power. They will wait for some London or Washington plan or will sit in Paris, making plans to suppress their opposition in Pakistan. In addition to the government officials, it is the duty of our politicians not to push our country toward

lawlessness and violence. At this time, the government should form strong pronational foreign and internal policies and give appropriate leadership to the country. Our internal struggle has not allowed any time to our government to think about it. In addition, opposition for the sake of opposition and allegiance to various parties has not given the opportunity to our politicians to rise above group interests. As a result, the voices of people who want new developments honestly and sincerely have been lost like a cry in the wild. Time has proved that these voices come from the hearts of the people. We need to have an all comprising and a comprehensive policy, and it is obvious that we are not succeeding in it.

The factors that are more important to the present political solution of Afghanistan clearly indicate that on principle, the Afghan mujahidin should have the first right. They have fought against a superpower for many years. They pushed the soldiers that crossed the Attock to the other side of the Amu River. A person who, because of our effective defense, was forced to be a silent spectator during this whole drama while the people of his country were dying and rotting in the dust can be called nothing but a criminal. If this person, known to the world as Zahir Shah, is made the head of the Afghanistan government, all we can say is that Najibullah has given up his presidential seat and become an emperor. This would mean that he has become an autonomous dictator. He was an enemy of Pakistan yesterday and is an enemy today.

The following statement issued by the additional secretary of our foreign ministry is very important. He said that our foreign office had relations with Zahir Shah in the past, and had met with him in Rome. He also met with Pakistan's General Wali, who is considered a confidant of Zahir Shah. This meeting was part of these efforts. In connection with this, we should read the statement by Engineer Gulbadan Hikmatyar. He said that he had met with Zahir Shah during Benazir's government. He was pressured to recognize Zahir Shah and was told that the situation would change. Gulbadan Hikmatyar's statement is an important point. He said that if the Afghan people did not recognize a government established by the Soviets, then he did not understand how they could accept a government approved by the Americans. We had a policy of agreeing with everyone. We also had to say that America would not dishonor us in front of the world.

If we take a look at our Kashmir policy, then it would throw more light on the situation. The Pakistani Government has continuously tried to convince India through lip service to relinquish Kashmir. The prime minister of India has always reacted negatively to Prime Minister Mian Nawaz Sharif's good-will advances. This kind of attitude or policy, implemented just to impress the world that we are very civilized, is not appropriate. We should not try to solve every problem over a cup of tea. An issue that cannot be resolved at an international level cannot be taken care of at a regional level. As a result of the "efforts" of the Pakistani Government, we

are losing international support on the Kashmir issue. We are being forced to believe that the United States wants an independent Kashmir. Therefore, the visits of such people who tell us, while standing in Pakistan, that Kashmir should be an independent nation, are part of these efforts. In such a situation, the Pakistani Government claims that it will have an agreement with India on the Wooler Barrage is analogous to our claiming that India is our ally and that India's occupation of the valley is not wrong. We are saying that India has the right to build wherever it wants to in occupied Kashmir. The reasoning of a very important official in our foreign ministry is extremely flimsy. He believes it is all right to let India build Wooler Barrage if it wants to, because when it leaves the occupied valley tomorrow, Pakistan will get this ready-made barrage. A lot of water will have flowed before we get that barrage. Pakistan's demand to have the right over Kashmir can also flow away in that water. We cannot turn a sensitive and important issue into a game, and we must cancel all agreements about the Wooler Barrage. This is the call of the times, and we must obey it.

One reason for this trend in Pakistan's foreign policy is that there has been no meeting of the Islami Jamhuri Ittehad (IJI) in which our foreign policy was not looked at suspiciously in light of the Constitution. The IJI has not made any efforts either at the expert or political level. There was no way to inform the foreign ministry of the desires and fears of the people. As a result, our foreign policy lacks direction, and that this time, a new tendency is taking momentum, which is not at all healthy for our country. Keeping the political parties within the IJI out of our sensitive national issues is affecting mutual trust among these political parties. The bureaucracy, the army, and religious groups are also being deliberately kept out of politics. This is secularism, toward which we are being pushed. They are working rapidly to separate religion from politics. The speed with which it is affecting us can be estimated by the fact that some powerful groups are suffering from internal strife, and our moral and cultural identities are being changed. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif should be aware of this development.

Our foreign policy reflects these internal affairs. We should try to analyze the forces that are pushing us toward political, moral, and social decay. The aspects that the IJI should pay attention to immediately include foreign policy. It should call a major conference to discuss foreign policy and indiscriminately invite all political parties and groups. A foreign policy that reflects our national desires should be formulated. If this does not happen, then in the future, historians will write that "the forces that took power in the name of religion left after giving the gift of secularism."

Bugti Claims Kazakhstan To Sell Nuclear Arms

92AS0585E Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST
in English 24 Jan 92 p 1

[Article by Altaf Siddiqui]

[Text] Karachi—Chief of the Jamhoori Watan Party, Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti has expressed the fear that

deteriorating economic situation of the Central Asian Republics could even force them to sell their nuclear devices to meet the situation. Talking to newsmen at his residence here, he referred to the visit of federal minister Sardar Asif Ali Khan to the Central Asian Republics and said that possibility of such a deal with Pakistan could both be ruled out. [sentence as published]

The former Balochistan chief minister said that the newly-born republics had nuclear devices, but economically they were bankrupt. So in desperation they could sell these devices to meet their economic requirements. He said that when the minister visited Kazakhstan, it asked for 300 million dollars worth of aid to meet its economic needs. One of the businessmen, a drug manufacturer, who accompanied the minister offered that he could provide such aid. Bugti speculated that most likely a deal on a nuclear device might have been struck.

He said that the republics were in a state of economic crisis and under these circumstances the nuclear weapons could be transferred to anywhere. This was also a fear that was disturbing the Western countries.

Regarding the U.S. pressure on Pakistan in respect of its nuclear programme, Bugti said that the question was not of how we should act but to what extent we could resist the pressure. He said that since the very inception of Pakistan, the rulers had made the country a U.S. lacky and they would again bow down before the pressure. He said that since the entire country was a U.S. base, the question of there being any U.S. bases in Pakistan did not arise.

Sharif Claims Country Desperately Needs Arms

92AS0570B Karachi JANG in Urdu 20 Jan 92 pp 1, 11

[News Report: "Sharif Claims Country Cannot Wait for Arms Indefinitely"]

[Text] (From A Special Plane Carrying The Prime Minister (APP/PPI Monitoring Report)—Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif announced that the French decision to sell modern airplanes and naval defense implements to Pakistan and its support to resolve the Kashmir issue according to the resolutions passed in the United Nations are important victories for Pakistan in the recent talks held in Paris during his trip to France. He was talking to newsmen about his successful trip while returning from Paris in his airplane on Sunday morning. The prime minister shed light on these new relations with an important Western power, and said that French President Mitterand had praised Pakistan's proposal to call a five-nation conference to discuss keeping South Asia a nuclear-free zone. "Prominent French industrial groups have expressed interest in establishing industries in Pakistan," said Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. He expressed full satisfaction on his trip to France, and told newsmen, "My trip should not be analyzed from a

material perspective. Instead, we should keep the political benefits for our country because of high-level relations with a country like France. President Mitterand had expressed concern about Kashmir, and has supported the UN resolutions on the Kashmir issue. This is a very encouraging development which gives us more hope. Pakistan is working hard to resolve this issue as soon as possible." Explaining his talks with President Mitterand about the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, the prime minister said, "I have requested that the French president play a role in calling the five-nation conference. Pakistan is trying to do whatever it can to find a regional solution to this issue, and hopes that a country like France will pressure India to show more understanding for the greater interests of the people living in this region. Pakistan understands the French delay in and respect its stand. Pakistan will wait for the nuclear power plant until the problem of nuclear weapons is resolved." He said that Pakistan is willing to accept all safeguards in this context, on the condition that India also be willing to agree to this. Mr. Sharif said that President Mitterand emphasized that Pakistan's relations with France, especially international relations, were on strong principles. Mr. Mitterand explained that there is no other reasons related to it. He mentioned the expansion of democratic institutions in Pakistan, and he promised support for the steps the present government is taking to strengthen these institutions. Answering the question about an agreement with France for the purchase of modern weapons, he said that it was important to our national interests. He said that Pakistan should be happy to get military equipment through traditional means, because the weapons and equipment necessary for the army could not be waited for very long. The prime minister said that it was important that Pakistan keep its armed forces appropriately supplied with weapons and ammunition. He added that prudence and caution demanded that we not depend on only one source for weapons and ammunition. When asked if he felt that there was any pressure on France to sell weapons to Pakistan, the prime minister answered in the negative. He said that France was an independent nation, and that he had his own policy about international and regional issues. While discussing the total cost of defense equipment being purchased, the prime minister said that the details of financial arrangements would be negotiated now. The possibility of borrowing money will be kept in mind. He said that the Pakistan Air Force would need some time to prepare for the new airplanes. "I am very happy about the purchase of three submarines to clear mines. The third mine-clearing ship will be built in Pakistan with French cooperation. This will enable the Pakistani Navy to build ships in the future, and such modern technology will be transferred to Pakistan. Pakistan needs this technology very badly. In order to train Pakistani personnel, they will be sent to France when the second ship is built there." According to PTV [Pakistan Television], the prime minister said that he told the French president that Pakistan was aware of France's

limitations, and that it would be willing to wait for the nuclear power plant until the problem of nuclear weapons was taken care of.

Government Dealings With Jiye Sindh Criticized

92AS0572C Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 25 Jan 92
p 12

[Analysis from Karachi by Nayer Alavi: "Actions Taken Against Jiye Sindh; Open Expressions of Enmity Towards the Country; Jam Sadiq's Timely Notice; The Movement Will Either Cool After House Arrest or Become Rejuvenated"]

[Text] G.M. Syed, the leader of the Jiye Sindh movement, has again been placed under house arrest in his residence, Haidar Manzil, in Karachi. During the term of office of the People's Party, he was arrested for lowering the flag of Pakistan from the Sukkur airport building and insulting the flag. This time, he was arrested for raising the flag of Sindhu Desh and shouting slogans for an independent Sindhu Desh. During his birthday celebration, G.M. Saed made extremely provocative and treasonous statements, which Chaudhary Shujat Hussain, federal minister of the interior, called the babbling of a madman; but Jam Sadiq Ali, provincial chief minister, did not consider such babble excusable. On his orders, the province's security forces took action at night and placed G.M. Syed under house arrest. Jam Sadiq also preemptively dismissed his special assistant, Ghazi Salahuddin, for attending G.M. Syed's birthday celebration and, according to a report, standing up when the Sindhu Desh flag was saluted. Ghazi Salahuddin is accused of fraternizing with G.M. Syed's family. Ghazi Salahuddin is considered a patriotic politician in his personal beliefs; he participated in the birthday celebration for political reasons and fell victim to political considerations. Associating with personalities such as G.M. Syed and participating in their exploits has proved costly to most people. The chief minister saved his government and his associates by his timely action. Permitting G.M. Syed to hold his birthday celebration in Karachi's Nishtar Park created the impression that G.M. Syed enjoyed some support from the provincial administration. It appears that this time G.M. Syed far exceeded what the provincial administration expected and feared that he would do; perhaps the federal government also did not expect him to go so far and that was why the first reaction of the government was to call his statements lunatic babbling. But later, as a result of detailed reports, both provincial and federal governments changed their minds and thought it necessary to take immediate action against Jiye Sindh. G.M. Syed is one of those individuals whose personality and politics are such that others cannot easily derive any advantage from him. He always disappointed the People's Party and General Zia found himself the target of criticism when he tried to draw closer to G.M. Syed.

Federal and provincial governments did profit from the experience of others and as soon as a dangerous stage was reached, took action against this old separatist; thus

these governments were able to avoid facing a severe reaction from the public and the opposition. In the interior of Sindh, nationalist [separatist] organizations enjoy a great deal of influence. Most of the organizations are opposed to G.M. Syed and some consider him absolutely useless but use him as a symbol to publicize their nationalist sentiments. The People's Party and Muslim League consider it wise not to tangle with him. This time, the People's Party has effectively postponed its reaction until the convening of the national assembly by which time the dust should have settled. G.M. Syed's house arrest has in a way brought peace and quiet to the People's Party, which was a constant target of criticism by Syed and his friends. Whether Syed's house arrest will cool the movement or intensify it and how far the policy of the People's Party will be affected are questions that the People's Party members themselves cannot rightly answer; hence, they have chosen to remain silent. The MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement], on the other hand, has adopted a more clear and more forthright policy; its leadership harshly condemned Syed's slogans of separatism and autonomy. On Friday, a resolution in favor of separatism was passed in Nishtar Park, and on Saturday, Karachi municipality passed a harshly worded resolution of condemnation. The arrests ordered by the provincial government occurred at night; the municipality's resolution during the day showed the stand taken by a powerful party, which is a member of the provincial government coalition and demonstrated that this party would undoubtedly throw its weight behind effective and quick action against Jiye Sindh's new campaign.

Meanwhile, speculation goes on as to the direction from which the order for G.M. Syed's house arrest originated. Whether the source of the order was the chief of army staff, the president or the prime minister, the fact remains that the chief minister took quick action and accepted total responsibility. He tried to remove all doubts and showed conclusively that the action was taken by the provincial government; he thus proved once again his unlimited capacity for dealing with delicate and complicated matters. At least, the chief minister's relations with the federal government are better than those between the federal government and its own ministry of the interior.

The federal minister of the interior learned a day later that the old man, described by him as crazy, was placed under house arrest in order to protect the province from his mischief making. Jam Sadiq did not say anything about the affair on Saturday and found no difficulty taking action that night. He might possibly find it somewhat difficult now to normalize his relations with the nationalists; but circles close to Jam Sadiq expect him to overcome this obstacle without much difficulty. The leader of the opposition asked the president, that on the basis of Syed's treasonous statements, chief minister Jam Sadiq should be summarily dismissed; she [Benazir Bhutto] had given a 24-hour notice [as published]. But the ability to seize the opportunity, which the chief minister demonstrated in this matter, will probably

increase federal confidence in him and strengthen the belief that at present, no one can replace Jam Sadiq in the province.

The open expression of enmity towards the country by G.M. Syed demonstrates once again the incompetence of our intelligence agencies. Their employees must have presented exaggerated reports of the speeches at the birthday celebration; what these employees should have done is to find out and report a couple of days ahead of time as to what G.M. Syed and his followers were planning to do. If these secret agencies had fulfilled their responsibilities of gathering information in time, the permit for the use of Nishtar Park would have been revoked and G.M. Syed would have been sent to Davoud to celebrate his birthday, where in the past also he has made senseless statements in favor of Sindhu Desh. Past federal ministers participated in the gatherings in Davoud; but the speeches delivered in this small city dispersed into the air. The country could have been saved from the damage, which resulted from the publicity given the Sindhu Desh slogan by the speeches delivered and the resolutions passed in Nishtar Park. The matter should be investigated and steps taken to prevent a recurrence of such incidents. We should also find out why our intelligence agencies are always asleep on the job, and, in order to hide this incompetence, how far the reports after the event are exaggerated. Such incidents occur frequently, hence, this weakness and incompetence should be remedied. Why does all the hue and cry occur after the event?

Editorial Views Internal Conflict Within IJI

92AS0568A Lahore MUSAWAT in Urdu 7 Jan 92 p 3

[Editorial: "Conflicts Within IJI"]

[Text] Internal strife in the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] has increased. The JUI [Jamiati-Ulema-i-Islam (Samih-Ulhaq group), which is a member part of the IJI, has accused the IJI of cheating during the municipal elections in Punjab. It said that the government used illegal means to help Muslim League candidates win. Pir Harun Shah, JUI central secretary of information, said that such a situation is not a good omen for democracy. He said that there should be objective and unbiased elections in the country. His accusation was that cheating was done according to a premeditated plan during the municipal elections, stating that the political parties included in the IJI never expected the government to be involved in such corrupt activity. The municipal elections were held at a nonparty level; however, the government is claiming the victory of Muslim League candidates. The democratic system in our country calls for unbiased and free elections. If municipal elections in our states were also held this way, then the democracy would be greatly hurt. The fraudulent practices of the PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] in the municipal elections can be ignored and called a trick by the opposition; however, the complaint about inappropriate activities by the IJI in the municipal elections calls for a thorough inquiry.

Politics in Azad Kashmir Said Confused, Uncertain

92AS0585K Karachi DAWN in English 3 Feb 92 p 76

[Article by A.A. Salaria: "Cross-Currents in Kashmir Politics"; quotation marks, boldface words as published]

[Text] Muzaffarabad: Confusion, uncertainty and diametrically opposing views about means and measures need to resolve the Kashmir issue characterise our national thinking. Every political party, every school of thought and every leader of note has his own perceptions and offers his own recipe for its solution. In this bedlam of conflicting opinions and diverging pulls, the confusion is getting more confounded.

Muzaffarabad, the traditional base-camp of the Kashmir Liberation movement, bears close resemblance these days to the famous 'Hyde Park' of United Kingdom. Numerous big, small and mushroom organizations are holding rallies, conventions and Press conferences in which diverging views are aired and different measures are prescribed for the freedom of held areas. The common features of these gatherings are the impassioned rhetoric and oratory of the speakers, a feigned or possibly genuine anguish for the sufferings of Kashmiris and reckless mud-slinging at other political parties.

Though most of these organisations have very little following and exist only on paper, all of them have their own specific slogans and ambitious manifestos. At the conclusion of every meeting, an elaborate statement of intent, with high-sounding captions like "Lahore Declaration" or "Muzaffarabad Joint communique," is issued by the self-styled leaders. So, while Occupied Kashmir is drenched in martyrs' blood, there is mostly bombast, bravado, backed with very little action, on this side of the border.

Diplomatic Freeze: The most vociferous group urging drastic action by the Government of Pakistan is the party-in-power, the All J&K [Jammu & Kashmir] Muslim conference. AJK Prime Minister, Sardar M. Abdul Qayyum Khan, has called upon the Government of Pakistan to stiffen its stance towards India in view of its intransigence on the Kashmir issue.

All diplomatic, trade and cultural relations with India should be frozen or severed pending its willingness to discuss the Kashmir issue. At the same time, Pakistan should discontinue its parleys with India on the Siachen dispute and the construction of Wullar Dam, because continuation of these talks implies that Pakistan is satisfied with the status-quo and is reconciled to Indian occupation of Kashmir.

The AJK Prime Minister has also urged the United Nations to take notice of the Indian atrocities and flagrant violations of human rights in occupied area and to take immediate action to ensure implementation of Security Council's resolutions on Kashmir. He has also appealed to the European Community and other world

powers to exert pressure on India to put a stop to the brutalities and the reign of terror in Kashmir.

In an open letter to Mr. Douglas Hurd, the U.K. Foreign Secretary, written on the eve of his recent visit to India, Sardar Qayyum drew his attention to the desperate situation in held Kashmir, where 32,000 Kashmiris have been massacred since January 1990 and more than 50,00 [as published] men, women and children maimed, molested and incapacitated for life. Tens of thousands of men and women have been taken captive and incarcerated in Indian Army cantonments and barracks, where they are being subjected to inhuman torture and molestation.

Sardar Qayyum appealed to Mr. Hurd to visit both Srinagar and Muzaffarabad and see for himself the miserable plight and sufferings of the people.

In his letter to Mr. Hurd, Sardar Qayyum also complained of U.S. collaboration with India which had further complicated the Kashmir problem. American patronage of India, combined with extensive economic and military aid and holding of joint military exercises, is abetting Indian intransigence on Kashmir and has dimmed the prospects of a peaceful settlement of the dispute. The bitterness and tension between India and Pakistan over this issue has reached the breaking point and driven the two countries to the brink of war. Since the Kashmir problem is a legacy of the British rule, it is the historical and moral duty of the British Government to help in bringing about its peaceful settlement.

While at New Delhi, Mr. Hurd did express his Government's concern over the situation in Kashmir and appealed for action to defuse the crisis, but he nullified the effect of this appeal by offering British Government's economic and military aid to India to offset the suspension of aid from Russia.

JKLF: Of the other political parties, claiming to represent the freedom fighters in held areas, the J&K Liberation Front [JKLF] is in the forefront. While the Muslim Conference, along with a majority of other political and religious groups, stand for accession to the State to Pakistan, the JKLF and a few splinter factions advocate "independence" of the state after the withdrawal of Indian troops. This is the most important clause in its manifesto.

As it happens, the JKLF itself is split into two factions: one led by Mr. Amanullah Khan and the other by Dr. Farooq Haider. Of the two, the Amanullah group is the more aggressive and has chalked out a programme of crossing the line of control and entering the Indian-held area on 11 February, the 8th anniversary of the martyrdom of their leader, the late Maqbool Butt, who was hanged by the Government of India on charges of treason.

A transit camp has already been setup in a posh locality at Muzaffarabad, where blaring loud-speakers are drumming up propaganda in favour of the party, its leader and

its programme. People are being coaxed to enlist their names in the roll of volunteers who would cross the border from Chakothi, about 50 kilometers from Muzaffarabad.

Whether it is a propaganda ploy for self-advertisement or a genuine attempt to force the issue, remains to be seen. It is very unlikely, however, that the Pakistan Government would permit the intended violation of the Line of Control which, with the passage of decades of inaction, has assumed the sanctity of an international border.

Meanwhile, a virulent controversy is raging around the issue of the future status of the State in the event of its liberation—"accession" vs "independence". Among the 13 parties which have joined the 'Tehrik-i-Hurriyat,' the majority favours accession to Pakistan. Mr. Amanullah Khan of JKLF, however, is the standard bearer of the independence concept.

Pakistan's Dilemma: Against this backdrop of turmoil and confusion, Pakistan is placed in a none too happy position. The predicament in which the Government finds itself is far from being enviable. On the one hand, it is deeply concerned with the blood-shedding and slaughter of Muslims in the valley and wants very much to help the freedom-fighters in their unequal struggle but, on the other hand, it is burdened with its major responsibility of preserving the safety and integrity of Pakistan.

So, in the larger interests of the country, it is understandably going slow in order to avoid a head-on clash with India over the issue. In view of the heavy odds against it in the event of another war, the Government of Pakistan is exercising unusual restraint despite intimidation and provocation.

The internal situation in the country which is torn by dissensions, with the opposition determined to topple the Government at any cost, is hardly congenial for any decisive action. So, apart from accelerating its worldwide publicity drive and high lighting the Kashmir holocaust, it is not taking any practical step to force the issue.

On the other hand India, despite its ignominy abroad and discontent with its Kashmir policy at home, is maintaining its inflexible posture over the issue. The soft-spoken, mealy-mouthed Prime Minister of India, in whom the Government of Pakistan has pinned its faith for a peaceful settlement, is still adamant in his utterances. And reference to the Kashmir issue is tabooed. He is prepared to talk on any conceivable topic with Pakistan, barring the Kashmir problem which is the main-spring of tension between the two countries.

Under the circumstances it is necessary that, short of war, the Government of Pakistan should take some positive action to bring India to its senses.

As suggested by Sardar Qayyum, it should suspend bilateral talks on related matters of secondary importance like trade, Siachen and Wullar Barrage. It should also seriously consider the possibility of recalling its ambassador from New Delhi and effecting a diplomatic freeze. Until it is prepared to talk turkey on Kashmir and include it in its agenda for the next meeting, Pakistan should have no truck with India.

At the same time, Pakistan should reinforce and revitalise its missions abroad to emphasise the importance of the vital Kashmir issue. All friendly countries should be persuaded to put pressure on India to stop the genocide of Kashmiris. If India remains adamant, then Muslim countries should impose an economic boycott, on her.

Editorial Claims Sindhi Leader's Arrest Not Solution

92AS0568D Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 21 Jan 92 p 3

[Editorial: "Need for National Unity"]

[Text] Since the arrests of national Sindhi leader G.M. Syed and other leaders, the situation has worsened and is causing more concern. The separatist elements are not afraid or worried about it. Instead, they have decided to accelerate their campaign. As a result, terrorism, the disruption of law and order, strikes in educational institutions, and boycotts of classes have started in Sindh. The Jiye Sindh Front has issued an appeal to observe a protest day on Wednesday all over Sindh. The government has established security measures in Sindh to protect the people. Rangers and police have been posted at all routes leading to Hyderabad.

Jam-i Sadiq Ali, Sindh's chief minister, has also announced that strict actions will be taken against Jiye Sindh leaders. Cases will be filed against them for breaking the Constitution and the law. Mr. Ali has also expressed his strong desire not to pardon anyone who is accused of anti-Pakistani activity. Various political parties and their leaders have also demanded that strict action be taken against G.M. Syed and his supporters. All this is appropriate and praiseworthy; however, the question arises: Why wasn't all of this done in the past? The "nationalists" chose Karachi to announce their plans. Their purpose was to propagate their ideology and to present it as an important issue to the world, in order to take advantage of the changing situation all over the world. Unfortunately, in addition to the state government, the federal government did not realize the sensitivity of the situation, and continued to believe that G.M. Syed was harmless and innocent. Chief Minister Jam-i Sadiq Ali considered G.M. Syed venerable because he was the one who presented the resolution in the Sindh Assembly to establish Pakistan. The person who knew and understood the people who introduced the resolution to establish Pakistan was Quaid-i Azam himself. Later, when he discovered that the people who had introduced the resolution did not follow the party discipline and were hungry for power, he declared them traitors and threw them out of the party. Today, Quaid-i Azam's decision seems to be 100 percent correct. Anyhow, the communal and separatist elements have succeeded in their conspiracy. Now we have to see how the government will take care of this issue, because simply arresting them, posting rangers and police, and issuing strong condemning statements will not help much. The federal government and all patriotic persons should sit down together and propose action against the separatist elements, so that action is taken, keeping the former East Pakistan situation in mind.

Foreign Investment Attacked, Negative Effects Foreseen

92AS0585B Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST*
in English 28 Jan 92 pp 10-11

[Article by Dr. M. Idris: "Consequences of Foreign Investment"]

[Text] [Boxed item] Foreign investment will also negatively affect local culture and traditional institutions in Pakistan. Foreign investment not only comes with the money and the technology, but also with new ideas, attitudes and norms. The local people associated with the plants will change their culture and adopt that of foreigners which will alienate them from local masses. [end box]

Recently, there has been a projection for the foreign investment in Pakistan. The government of Nawaz Sharif, concerned by the attitude of Western donors due to Pakistan's stand on its nuclear programme, has been busy inviting private investors from all over the world for investment in the country. A special conference of investors was held in Islamabad and a large amount of money was spent on the protocols, dinners, lodgings and entertainments. In addition, a special package of incentives was offered to various investors. Overall objective of present government policy has been to attract foreign investment in Pakistan, which in turn, will help create jobs by setting the pace of industrialisation. The government has been busy ensuring the "good investors climate" to the foreign investors without looking at the consequences of foreign investment. In this paper, an attempt has been made to look at the consequences of private foreign investment in Pakistan.

For the last couple of decades, the capital has been internationalised with the multinational corporations (MNCs) operating all over the world. These corporations have been relocating their manufacturing plants and moving them from developed to the less developed countries (LDCs). Most of the MNCs have been concentrating their management headquarters and basic research facilities in the developed countries and locating manufacturing plants in the LDCs because of the following reasons:

(1) The labour in the developed countries has become very expensive for the last few decades which has been forcing the MNCs to move their manufacturing plants to the LDCs where labour is still very cheap.

(2) Most of the MNCs used to import raw material from the LDCs for their manufacturing plants located in the developed countries and marketed the finished products back in the LDCs. This process involved lots of transportation cost. MNCs have been moving their plants to the LDCs in order to avoid the transportation costs and exploit the raw material.

(3) In most of the LDCs including Pakistan, there has been tariff barriers which protected local businesses. MNCs have been moving their manufacturing plants to the LDCs in order to penetrate the local market by avoiding the tariff barriers.

(4) The environmental protection movements in the developed countries have been forcing the governments to make various environmental safety laws. The investors in the developed countries have no choice, but, either to follow these environmental safety laws (which means additional costs to their products) or to move their plants to the LDCs where there are limited, or no safety laws or regulations.

There are many people in Pakistan who believe that the foreign investment can develop our nation by:

(1) generating jobs; (2) earning foreign exchange; (3) increasing the revenue for the government (taxes); (4) utilising the national resources.

The present government has got to trap this idea of "foreign private investment" as a cure to most of our economic problems. However, the government should realise that there is a cost associated with this foreign investment; e.g.

(1) Foreign investment will destroy the manufacturing base (which is already weak) of the country. MNCs with superior management strategies, abundant resources, and advanced technology will out-compete the local business firms. Diminishing of the local manufacturing base means greater dependency on the MNCs controlled directly or indirectly by the developed countries.

(2) Foreign investment will encourage the corporate imperialism. Most of the big MNCs annual budget is more than Pakistan. The financial leverage of these MNCs over Pakistan will encourage their management to interfere in the internal and external affairs of Pakistan. In addition, the countries where the headquarters of these companies are located will be using them in order to influence the policies of Pakistan.

(3) Foreign investment may accelerate selected kinds of industries and thus will diminish the diversity of the industrial base in Pakistan. Foreign investors, being foreigners and with no commitment to Pakistan, may look at the feasibility of industrial units in terms of monetary profit rather than the consumption need of the people or the strategic interest of the nation.

(4) The control over the specific industries by the foreign investors will increase Pakistan's economic vulnerability. A fluctuation in the price of a selected product in the international market will hurt Pakistan's economy.

(5) For the last few decades, there has been a tendency on the part of MNCs to shift their relatively old and environmentally unsafe plants to the LDCs because of the growing environmental concern among the people in the developed countries. Pakistan may get out-dated and environmentally unsafe plants. The government, hard pressed by the problem of unemployment, may accept these plants despite their environmental consequences.

(6) Recently, there has been a widening international division of labour. MNCs are busy concentrating their research and management facilities in the developed

countries and moving assembly plants to the LDCs in order to exploit cheap labour and raw material. In the process of private foreign investment, Pakistan may be exposing its human and physical resources to the foreign exploitation.

(7) Foreign investment may accelerate the regional disparity by concentrating their plants in the already developed regions such as Karachi, Hyderabad and Lahore. There is always a tendency on the part of foreign investors to locate their plants in an area which is relatively close to port and has relatively developed communication system. The concentration of these plants in these few developed areas will further alienate the relatively poor areas of Pakistan, which in turn, will accelerate the already constrained ethnic relationship between various regions.

(8) The most serious consequences of the policy of foreign investment will be the syphoning off the profits from Pakistan by the MNCs to their headquarters in developed countries. The profit made by the foreign investors will not be reinvested in Pakistan as it normally does by the local investors. As a result, the profit will be shifted to the headquarters. For example, can one imagine what happened to the profit made by the Suzuki company from its plant in Karachi. Obviously, the profit is going to Japan where the headquarter is located rather than reinvested here in Pakistan.

(9) Foreign investment will destroy the research and development capacity of Pakistan. The local investors prefer to start joint ventures with the foreign investors and will be working as a proxy in the local market. It will destroy their capacity and desire to invest their money on the basic research. In addition, foreign investment will encourage a tendency of "import substitution" where the foreign investment will create subsidiaries in Pakistan which will produce products for the local consumption. It will negatively affect the basic research base in Pakistan.

(10) Foreign investment will also negatively affect local culture and traditional institutions in Pakistan. Foreign

investment not only come with the money and the technology, but also with new ideas, attitudes and norms. The local people associated with the plants will change their culture and adopt that of foreigners which will alienate them from local masses. In addition, the foreign plants will offer relatively better salaries and working environment than the local plants which will create division of labour in the country, a potential destabilising factor for the social harmony among the labour.

(11) Foreign investment may encourage labour suppression in the country. The government, hard pressed by the foreign investors, may get hard on the labours working in the plants of the foreigners. The government may resort to labour suppression in order to create a favourable "investment climate" for the foreign investors.

(12) The proponents of the foreign investment argue that it will create jobs for the people in Pakistan. However, they fail to realise that most of the modern industries are capital intensive, and thus doesn't create jobs (only limited number of jobs are created for the skilled labour). So, the unemployment among the skilled labour will remain the same. In Pakistan, there is already a shortage of skilled labour. In addition the educational system is not market oriented, thus can not provide necessary required labour for the foreigners owned plants. The phenomena of educated unemployment in Pakistan will remain the same despite present government's policy of encouraging the foreign investment.

It is concluded that the present government should not jump into a policy implementation of which will have serious consequences for the national economy, national unity, and socio-cultural institutions. The policy-makers should be sensitive to above-mentioned issues before inviting generously the foreign investors.

Export Statistics Detailed by Year, Country

92AS0582E Karachi DAWN in English 29 Jan 92 p 11

[Text]

Pakistan Principal Exports (value in million dollars)

Commodities	July-June, 90-91		July-June 89-90		July-June 88-89		July-June 87-88		July-June 86-87	
	Value	% Share	Value	% Share	Value	% Share	Value	% Share	Value	% Share
1. Cotton yarn	1,183	19.29	834	16.83	601	12.89	541	12.15	506	13.73
2. Cotton fabrics	676	11.02	559	11.28	465	9.97	485	10.90	345	9.37
3. Readymade garments	497	8.10	394	7.95	336	7.20	350	7.86	355	9.63
4. Made-ups (includ. towels)	484	7.89	399	8.05	347	7.45	318	7.15	259	7.02
5. Raw cotton	412	6.72	443	8.94	930	19.94	610	13.69	446	12.11
6. Synthetic textiles	347	5.66	212	4.28	117	2.50	198	4.45	157	4.25
7. Rice	346	5.64	239	4.83	304	6.51	363	8.15	300	8.13
8. Hosiery	334	5.45	274	5.52	167	3.50	134	3.02	97	2.62
9. Leather	276	4.50	279	5.64	244	5.22	285	6.43	237	6.44
10. Leather Garments	262	4.27	195	3.94	142	3.05	135	3.04	102	2.78

Pakistan Principal Exports
(value in million dollars) (Continued)

Commodities	July-June, 90-91		July-June 89-90		July-June 88-89		July-June 87-88		July-June 86-87	
	Value	% Share	Value	% Share	Value	% Share	Value	% Share	Value	% Share
—										
11. Carpets & Rugs	222	3.62	229	4.62	230	4.94	252	5.67	200	5.42
12. Sports Goods	136	2.22	107	2.16	70	1.49	65	1.46	99	1.58
13. Fish & Fish Preparations	115	1.88	94	1.91	110	2.37	124	2.79	112	3.05
14. Pet & Pet Products	99	1.61	44	0.89	18	0.39	27	0.61	26	0.70
15. Surgical Instruments	83	1.35	70	1.41	62	1.33	57	1.27	55	1.50
16. Tents & Canvas	79	1.29	29	0.58	41	0.88	30	0.68	23	0.64
17. Cotton Waste	56	0.91	28	0.56	12	0.26	9	0.21	6	0.16
18. Fruits & Vegetables	49	0.80	54	1.08	47	1.01	50	1.13	43	1.17
19. Molasses	37	0.60	49	0.99	30	0.65	39	0.88	24	0.66
20. Footwear	32	0.52	23	0.46	19	0.41	21	0.47	16	0.43
Subtotal	5,725	93.34	4,554	91.92	4,291	92.04	4,096	92.01	3,369	91.39
Other Commodities	409	6.66	400	8.08	371	7.96	358	7.99	318	8.61
Total	6,133	100.00	4,954	100.00	4,661	100.00	4,455	100.00	3,686	100.00

Pakistan's Principal Buyers

Country	1990-91		1989-90		1988-89		1987-88		1986-87	
	July-June		July-June		July-June		July-June		July-June	
—	Value	% Share	Value	% Share	Value	% Share	Value	% Share	Value	% Share
—										
1. U.S.A.	660	10.76	655	13.23	535	11.47	489	10.97	373	10.12
2. Fed. Rep of Germany	544	8.87	394	7.96	290	6.22	312	7.00	259	7.03
3. Japan	508	8.20	457	9.23	541	11.61	502	11.28	400	10.86
4. United Kingdom	446	7.27	337	6.79	290	6.23	302	6.79	263	7.14
5. Hong Kong	367	5.98	210	4.24	261	5.60	155	3.49	103	2.81
6. South Korea	240	3.91	147	2.96	157	3.36	110	2.46	117	3.17
7. France	235	3.03	183	3.70	133	2.86	143	3.20	123	3.33
8. Italy	231	3.77	236	4.76	213	4.57	257	5.77	214	5.80
9. Saudi Arabia	219	3.57	130	2.62	110	2.36	221	4.96	262	7.12
10. Dubai	175	2.85	145	2.93	173	3.71	132	2.96	125	3.40
11. Singapore	137	2.23	81	1.63	49	1.04	31	0.70	30	0.83
12. Netherlands	122	1.99	97	1.96	79	1.70	91	2.05	60	.62
13. Sweden	116	1.89	116	2.34	47	1.00	57	1.28	44	1.20
14. Belgium	106	1.73	81	1.63	50	1.06	62	1.39	61	1.66
15. Canada	103	1.68	81	1.63	71	1.53	64	1.43	41	1.11
16. Spain	99	1.61	84	1.70	89	1.91	83	1.87	50	1.37
17. Iran	97	1.58	91	1.83	75	1.61	27	0.60	56	1.53
18. Bangladesh	96	1.57	104	2.09	75	1.61	106	2.37	64	1.74
19. Turkey	83	1.35	44	0.89	10	0.21	11	0.25	5	0.14
20. Thailand	78	1.27	58	1.17	111	2.38	57	1.28	58	1.57
Subtotal	4,662	75.99	3,731	75.29	3,358	72.04	3,212	72.10	2,711	73.55
Other Countries	1,471	24.01	1,224	24.71	1,303	27.96	1,242	27.90	975	26.45
Total	6,133	100.00	4,954	100.00	4,661	100.00	4,455	100.00	3,686	100.00

Trade Balance Said Deteriorating Significantly

92AS0585F Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST
in English 26 Jan 92 pp 1, 8

[Article by Altaf Hussain]

[Text] Islamabad—During the first half of the current fiscal year (July-December 1991-92) the trade balance deteriorated by 35 percent, remittances from overseas Pakistanis decreased by 31.1 percent and the total tax collection went down by around 5 percent as compared to the same period during the previous financial year 1990-91, said the minister for finance and economic affairs, Sartaj Aziz, while addressing a press conference here on Saturday.

Giving an overview of the economic situation of the country during the first six months, he said that due to the favourable impact of the policies announced by the government, the rate of inflation slowed down, industrial investment surged, industrial and agricultural production were showing rising trends, exports and revenue collections had increased, foreign exchange reserves had augmented and the stock exchange was showing buoyancy.

At the same time, he admitted that the fiscal and external sectors, however, remained under pressure as the overseas Pakistanis sent around \$215 million less and the government spent around \$700 million more on imports in the first six months as compared to the similar period last year. On the fiscal side, he said, that while the overall fiscal deficit remained on track, net repayment of foreign debt due to shortfall in foreign assistance and reduction in domestic non-bank debt stock, led to higher level of bank borrowings for budgetary support.

This is the first time that the finance minister acknowledged the fact that "the external sector will come under additional pressure as remittances are declining and the exports are not maintaining the targeted growth. High level of imports may also contribute to enlarging the current account deficit. It may be difficult to bring down the current account deficit from 2.1 billion dollars in 1990-91 to 1.6 billion dollars in 1991-92 as planned," he said.

He also told newsmen that the budgetary situation would remain under additional pressure as there were shortfalls in revenues and foreign resources and upward pressure in expenditure. About the growth of GDP [gross domestic product] during the current financial year, he commented in rather vague words saying that "the economic growth in the current fiscal year may be better than 5.6 percent recorded in 1990-91. However, the possibility of exceeding the targeted growth of 6.7 percent is remote."

It is to be noted that the twin international monetary agencies indicated the government to set the target of GDP growth for the current fiscal year between 5-6 percent. The government, however, for the reason best

known to the economic planners put it at 6.7 percent or around 20 percent more than the target achieved during the previous financial year.

To a question about the Lahore-Islamabad motorway project, the finance minister said that the government would pay 50 percent of the total expenditure amounted to around Rs.[rupees]28 billion. Earlier, it was mentioned by the official sources that this share of the government was going to be 40 percent. Since the budgetary allocation for the said project is Rs. 1.7 billion, the government is then expected to face a shortfall of more than Rs. 2 billion during the current financial year. While, the finance minister put this figure at Rs. 1.1 billion by dividing the expenses over a four-year period, he did not satisfy the question that how the government would adjust their shortfall in order to meet the target of containing budget deficit at 4.8 percent of the GDP during the current fiscal year. Instead, he angrily said "in a total budgetary expenditure package of 220 billion rupees I am being asked how I would adjust an additional Rs. 1 billion. This will become 221 billion rupees. So what," he remarked. The minister also mentioned that the budget deficit target could go to 5.1 percent or probably more than the target that was being chased by the government.

When asked what was going to be the financial impact on the budget of the concessions announced by the prime minister for the agriculture sector, Sartaj Aziz said "as regards recovery of loans, we have said that the people below 12.5 acre will pay the entire amount and the mark-up will not be charged. In case of others, the compounding affect has been eliminated. The other item in which the money is involved is giving tractors at 8 percent mark up rather than the higher mark-up rate and again we don't know how much the demand will pick up and how many people will benefit from it." When asked how the government would adjust this unanticipated amount that might run into billions of rupees in the already deficit budget, he said, "whatever happens will be adjusted in the budget."

THE FRONTIER POST understands that the twin international monetary agencies are frequently asking the government the same question that what would be the financial impact and how the government would accommodate these additional expenditure measures in the already squeezing budgetary resources. Independent economists are of the opinion that the Islamabad-Lahore Motorway Project and the announcement of concessions for agriculture sector would put more burden on the budget deficit that is already facing the problems of less revenue collection, and decreasing exports and increasing imports.

About his recent visit to Japan, the finance minister said that his negotiations with the Japanese counterparts were successful from the fact that both the countries agreed to enhance trade and economic cooperation with each other. He also said that the Japanese government reaffirmed its pledge made at the consortium meeting at

Paris in May last year for the provision of around \$400 million in the form of various project and sector loans and grants.

Universities Facing Financial Crises

92AS0585L Karachi DAWN in English 3 Feb 92 p 11

[Text] The financial crisis in the domain of higher education in Pakistan has reached alarming proportions. According to a report, the total debt liability of the universities in the public sector and some institutions of higher learning rose to Rs.[rupees]502 million at the end of the last fiscal year in June. Worse seems to be in store. The deficit is expected to grow to Rs. 750 million by June 1992. And all this when the budgets of most institutions are either not growing at all or have registered a downward trend. This obviously is having a negative impact on the state of university education in the country. Standards have been declining, the quality of academic facilities such as libraries and laboratories has deteriorated, the strength of the teaching staff has decreased in relation to the growing number of students, research is virtually non-existent and little expansion is taking place.

The only silver lining in the bleak university situation is that the authorities have at least been jolted out of their apathy and inaction. They have begun to take note of the crisis and are considering measures to generate funds. The first response has been to raise the tuition fees which had been pegged for long at an unrealistically low level—they covered not even ten percent of the costs. Although this was a correct step, it is now plain that this has not proved enough to solve the problem. The university managements must keep their fees structures under review and raise the tuition charges periodically, so that the enhancement is not too high at any given time.

If the fee increase has failed to ease the financial crisis sufficiently it is not surprising. The fact is that the federal government which is responsible for funding the universities has failed to acquit itself well enough in this respect. The needed quantum of grants for the institutions of higher education has not been forthcoming. So apathetic has been the UGC's [University Grants Commission] approach in the matter that it has sought to shift part of the responsibility of funding onto the universities themselves. Thus, it proceeded promptly to slash by as much as 42 percent the grant of the Karachi University shortly after it had raised the tuition fees. The result has been that the modest gain made out of the fee increase has been more than neutralised by the cut applied by the UGC.

Hence, before experimenting with other schemes, the government should recognise the basic flaw in its education policy. Its failure to invest sufficiently in the social

sectors is the major cause of the crisis of education in Pakistan. The universities are so starved of funds that they cannot even discharge their basic functions without going deeper into financial trouble. Only after the government has provided the institutions of higher learning with the requisite budgetary support can it legitimately expect public sympathy in the exploration of other avenues for funds, which should go mainly towards financing development and research.

Some of the proposals being considered appear quite feasible and should help generate substantial resources. But some others are so incongruous that the sooner they are abandoned the better. Thus the university authorities should seek to recover—albeit gradually—the real costs of hostel accommodation, transport and examinations by rationalising the charges. Similarly, the idea of encouraging public endowments is a very good one and should be pursued vigorously. Universities should seek to generate some resources by undertaking research and surveys for industries and other agencies on payment of fees. There is no dearth of means to raise funds if the will and ingenuity are there.

What cannot be accepted, however, is the concept of a parallel stream of higher education in the public sector to be made available for the exclusive benefit of the affluent classes for a special price. Even the argument that this would generate a sizable surplus to supplement the financing of a university's normal education programme would not make it any more justifiable. Thus, the idea of afternoon shifts in the universities which would admit students who can pay Rs. 150,000 as admission fee is too repugnant to be considered. If the Mehran University is experimenting with the proposition, it must not overlook the negative aspects of it. It smacks of social injustice in the sense that students from the indigent classes can never aspire to get into the afternoon shift. Besides, the concept of money excluding or diluting merit as the sole criterion for admission is too palpable a distortion to be accepted. Perhaps a better option would be to have substantially higher tuition fee and other charges for the evening shifts to make them justifiable, while providing scholarships, freeships and loan to students who are competent but cannot pay higher fees. This would be more logical, equitable and practical.

It should be emphasised again that these measures will certainly help raise resources for the universities. But the fundamental responsibility of providing education rests with the government. It must meet this fully by increasing its contribution to this sector. More important, if an institution is dynamic and efficient enough to generate extra resources from other sources, these must be treated as a bonus and on no account must the UGC cut down its grants.

Advanced Tank Reported Near Completion

92AS0671C Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 16 Jan 92
pp 1, 7

[News Report: "Modern Tank To Be Completed by 1993"]

[Text] Texila (Correspondent)—Major General Farahat Ali Barki, the director general of Pakistan's Heavy Rebuild Factory, said that after building P-70 tanks in Pakistan, more modern tanks with 125-mm guns will be built in Pakistan by 1993. This year, ultra-modern P-85 tanks will be supplied to Pakistan's armed forces. Later, the Alkhalid-2000, a modern tank built in Pakistan, will be ready by 1994. Maj. Gen. Burki expressed his opinion while participating in the inauguration ceremonies of the Heavy Rebuild Factory. He said that in the tank factory, all activities that include surveying, factory design, establishment of a 50-ton crane, and construction of railway lines, were finished in a brief period of 17 months. He added that gun manufacturing work that was started in Pakistan was first conceptualized in 1972. Several studies were later conducted to determine the feasibility of this plan. Because of the lack of available technology, the plan was put on hold for two decades. Gun manufacturing technology is extremely expensive, and the countries that possess this technology demanded that Pakistan buy at least 100 guns from them. This plan requires a lot of money that Pakistan could not afford to pay. He praised the Chinese Government and said that Pakistan was successful in obtaining gun technology with

the PRC's help. The technology imported from China was not only cheaper, but was also easy for Pakistani experts and engineers to follow.

The government approved the gun project in November 1986. After that, Pakistan signed a technology transfer agreement with Noranko, the Chinese firm. According to this agreement, China provided the technology, which helped Pakistan manufacture the 155-mm gun. The gun factory was built in five months. During this period, new personnel were recruited to the factory and were trained. Some were sent abroad for advanced training. Our engineers were trained in China, Australia, and several other countries. They all became experts in gun manufacture and technology. Not only did the factories manufacture gun barrels, but also 105-mm guns. These guns also have hydraulic systems built into them. He said that Pakistan has acquired the technology to build the Alkhalid tank and the 125-mm gun that goes with it. Pakistan has also started manufacturing 105-mm guns for other tanks. The day is not far off when the P-70 tanks manufactured in Pakistan will carry these guns. He said that the gun factory being inaugurated that day would help strengthen Pakistan's defense and play an important role in making Pakistan self-sufficient in defense production. He said that the Heavy Rebuild Factory has been making great progress since 1979. Several kinds of factories are functioning within it. In addition, armored vehicles are also being manufactured in the Heavy Rebuild Factory.

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